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Proceedings Organizational Convention of the

International Union of
Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO)

Broadwood Hotel • Philadelphia, Pa.
November 28th through December 1st, 1949

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PROCEEDINGS
Organizational Convention
of the
International Union of
Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO

Broadwood Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa.

November 28th through December 1st, 1949



International Union of
Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers
Affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations
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PROCEEDINGS

of

ORGANIZATIONAL CONVENTION

International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, NOVEMBER 28, 1949

FIRST DAY—MONDAY MORNING SESSION

The Organizational Convention of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, convened in the Broadwood Hotel at 10:30 o'clock a. m., George Craig, CIO Regional Director of Philadelphia, presiding as temporary chairman.

While the delegates were assembling, the Buddy Williams Orchestra entertained with musical selections.

Miss Tanya Garth sang the National Anthem.

MR. GEORGE CRAIG

CIO Regional Director of Philadelphia

As CIO Regional Director I would like to welcome you to the city of Philadelphia and express to you greetings from the CIO of Philadelphia. It is a great occasion that the officers of your organization have selected the city of Philadelphia for this great Convention, for Philadelphia has been known as the City of Freedom and the city where freedom has been found many, many times. We are proud to have you here and we know that you have a tremendous responsibility. We know, too, that your responsibility is going to be carried out, so that you may bring forth to your organization the freedoms that you are entitled to as working men and women in the labor movement.

This charter given to you by the CIO was granted because the CIO knew it had to clean the Communist-controlled leadership out of the labor movement, and I do know that when you are deliberating in your discussions here during the course of this Convention much will be said on that particular matter.

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With those few remarks I want to thank you, and I again say, welcome to Philadelphia and have a good time.

Now we will have the invocation by Reverend William Gordon, of Villanova College.

INVOCATION

Rev. William Gordon, OSA, PhD.
Villanova College

FATHER GORDON: Before the invocation I would like to state very definitely that I regard it as a very high honor to be here at the first convention of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, and I feel very honored to again associate myself with the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, the Daily Worker notwithstanding.

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

Direct, we beseech Thee, O Lord, the actions, thoughts, and motives of the delegates to this convention, that, guided by Thy holy inspirations and carried on by Thy gracious assistance, the leaders and members of this new labor organization may continue to contribute in truly democratic fashion to the advancement of the just aspirations of the working men and working women of America and the working men and working women of the whole world.

This, O God, we beseech Thee, through Jesus Christ, the Worker—Amen.

CHAIRMAN CRAIG: At this time it is my pleasure to introduce a young man who is President of our Philadelphia Industrial Union Council, a young man who has done a yeoman job in the office of President and who has been very, very active. I know you will be pleased to hear from him—Henry Shipherd, President of the Philadelphia Industrial Union Council.

MR. HENRY SHIPHERD

President, Philadelphia Industrial Union Council

I am very glad to be able to welcome you, on behalf of the Industrial Union Council of Philadelphia, to this city. As far as the Council is concerned, this is a welcome of from ninety to one hundred thousand members that we have affiliated with the Council. We started extending our welcome to the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, probably four or five weeks ago. We could not wait until the Convention. In fact, the CIO Council in Philadelphia has suffered a certain amount of raiding at the hands of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO. First, Jim Carey reached in and grabbed Al Hartnett and said, "We need him down in Washington." Al was our Community Chest representative, representing the Philadelphia Industrial Union Council, but we said to Jim Carey, "If you need him I guess he is yours."

Two weeks or so ago the telephones began to ring and the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers began to schedule all the rooms and reservations in Philadelphia, through our Council office. They practically took over—of course in a very nice way. They said, "We know the election is over and you have nothing else to do, and we will keep your office busy."

And then starting yesterday they just up and took our Council Secretary and said, "We will need her for the week."

We certainly will give you every pledge of support that we are able to give you in the organizing of this new International Union. My chief purpose today is to introduce the next speaker. That is no secret, of course, because you can look on your programs and see that it is Richardson Dilworth. The important thing I want to call to your attention is that Dick Dilworth is one of the greatest organizers I have ever seen. We are used to thinking in terms of labor people organizing. Well, if you saw Dick organizing this city for the last three years, you would have to take your hats off to him, because those of us in Philadelphia have, because here was a man who did not have to organize the Electrical Workers alone, he had to organize all the CIO workers, all the independent workers, all the AFL workers; he had to build a Democratic machine, and then he came through with a smashing majority of 110,000 here in Philadelphia.

I think Dick is in good company here, and we are very fortunate to have the man who I think is the type of organizer here in Philadelphia for the cause of the workers, and we say that when he is finished organizing in Philadelphia he may go much further.

It is a real pleasure to introduce Dick Dilworth, Treasurer-elect of Philadelphia.

MR. RICHARDSON DILWORTH

Treasurer-elect, City of Philadelphia

Thank you, Mr. Shipherd, officers and delegates of the International Union, Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO. It is a great pleasure and privilege to welcome you here to the city of Philadelphia, because you ladies and gentlemen have been having about the same kind of struggle in your own union as we have been having here in the city of Philadelphia in a political way.

When we started this fight a little over two years ago one of the first groups that came to our aid in this fight—and I see some of our good friends sitting down below us—were some of your larger locals in the city of Philadelphia. They were among the first of the big plants that invited us to come out and talk at noonday and at change of shift, to address rallies. They furnished one of the first boosts we had along the very rocky path of trying to kick out as powerful a political machine as there was in Philadelphia.

I think one thing these local political committees have shown is that it is vitally important for labor to get into the political campaigns in a big way in our big cities. In this last campaign in Philadelphia I think it was very definitely shown that all the independent elements and all of the labor elements really pitched in and labor particularly did a really effective job. We saw it all during election day. Due to our very peculiar election laws which have been fostered by the Republican-dominated machine, not only in the city but in the State, it is almost impossible in a lot of our weaker divisions, that is, the controlled divisions, to get any workers in the polling places on election day, because under our election laws you have to live in the division in which you vote, and in this city you have 1,374 divisions, and unless you live in that particular division you can neither be an election official or a watcher. The courts have taken the position that they cannot even assign a person to a polling place except to investigate a specific complaint. The result is that we have had as many as 250 divisions completely

unmanned. This year for the first time we had over three-fourths of these divisions manned in this city, and manned almost entirely by members of various CIO and AFL Unions, and it made a profoundly tremendous difference in the entire outcome of the election.

I think another thing that labor is learning very definitely is this, that you just can't organize at the top for political success, you have to organize right at the bottom and work all the way up. Take a state like Pennsylvania, with a population of a little over 10,000,000, over 2,000,000 of whom live right here in the city of Philadelphia—as long as your independent elements, your labor elements and all of those groups do not take any great interest in the local situation, you not only get a rotten government in the city, but it spreads throughout the state and it is reflected in the kind of men we send to Congress. Any of you who remember the type of men we sent to the Legislature before the election of Roosevelt will remember what a terrible thing it was, not only for the city of Philadelphia, but for our entire State of Pennsylvania, because of the kind of Representatives we had coming into Harrisburg to our State Legislature, men who were politically under the domination of the big corporations in this city. They had their private deals with these big interests, with the result that our city was being short-changed in every conceivable way. It was also resulting in the killing in the legislative sessions of all liberal bills favorable to labor, all legislation of that kind, because that type of politician is invariably in the pay of these big vested interests, and if it is not some big general business interest it is some particular business interest. The same thing was true all through the 20's and through the period to the election of President Roosevelt, in the type of men we were sending to the Congress of the United States. Those men that were going down to Congress, were staying in Congress for long terms, gradually working their way up through seniority to the chairmanship of committees, with the result that on these committees all liberal legislation was being stifled and killed. Right in our own communities we saw very much the same thing.

Unless labor in a big community like the city of Philadelphia will take an active interest right down to the division and ward level and have alert men and women acting as committeemen and ward leaders, taking an active part in all of the party councils in one party or the others in these big cities, I think we are bound to have the kind of reactionary government we have had for so long in cities of this kind. It has been evident in our School Board and in our city government all the way up and down the line, in our health program, our playground program, and all of those programs which affect the average man and woman living in a big city of this kind. Until labor and all independent elements decide to do the kind of things that have been done in the past two years, we will have a very low level of government, the kind we have had in too many big cities. If we start in on the city level and labor and all the other independent elements become powerful in our big cities, I think we will find our whole standard of government improved tremendously.

One of the Councilors elected in this city is an active member of one of your CIO Unions. More and more in the organization of our party groups of labor in the wards where we have had heavy labor-union population, they have been getting active in our ward organizations and actually advising the ward leaders to put in their own men and women. It has tremendously

improved our organization and raised the whole level, increased the fighting spirit to deal with all the problems we have to deal with in an election campaign. I hope we will see more and more of that kind of thing all the way up and down the line, because I think we all agree that the fight is just beginning—the fight to put through the program that President Truman tried to get through the 81st Congress. That fight will become more intense and more severe as we go on, and while we are very much encouraged at the moment by the stupidity that the opposition has shown, I think we have got to recognize the fact that they will improve their tactics and more and more they will go for the kind of tactics that have been proven effective in the past. I think we will see more and more of our reactionary politicians going underground and working behind the scenes than we have ever seen before. In the past two or three weeks I think we have seen quite a lot of it over the country. I don't know how many of you read the speech that Sloane made about the "trend toward serfdom" here in the United States. But those are the tactics that will be used all the way up and down the line. I see in the morning paper they are going to drop the words "welfare state" and "statism" and talk about the "poorhouse state" and the "pauper state."

We realized in this past campaign that the City Hall political machine tried to scare the voters with a Communist smear campaign, with enough money, with enough media of publicity to put that kind of a campaign over. Those campaigns are very hard to fight unless we have very much the same media of publicity they do.

For instance, in the political campaign here in Philadelphia, for four successive days two weeks before the election they hired every big radio station in the city, they published quarter-page advertisements in all our newspapers, and they just ran regular Communist pleas for about four days, and naturally for a short time it looked like they might succeed in creating a sort of mass hysteria. If it had not been for the fact that they so disgusted the people and the conservative newspapers this campaign result might have been different. I think that is the type of campaign we will see organized by these big interests who are continually insisting that the great thing we have to fear is the so-called welfare state or pauper state. That is the tactic that we have to be ready to meet.

In the experience we have had here locally we believe the most effective way to meet that campaign is to take all the various issues, one by one, and debate them with the representatives of the Republican party wherever we can get them to appear or to debate, and not allow them to get away with this talk about statism or welfare states, but to break it down into its component parts and say, well, just exactly what complaint have you with any of the program that President Truman introduced to the 81st Congress? Do you, for example, want to decrease or limit the benefits of workmen's compensation insurance? Do you want in any way to affect the benefits of unemployment insurance? Do you want to affect the disability benefits? Are you, or are you not, in favor of reasonable pension plans, and how do any of those plans already begun have anything to do with the so-called welfare state? That, in our opinion, is the effective way to combat this thing.

I think one place where we have been able to make some progress in this whole campaign is in this so-called socialized medicine. Do you realize that the doctors of this country, backed up by the very same kind of interests who have been talking of serfdom and all that kind of thing, have raised a

war chest of \$10,000,000 to try to create that same kind of mass hysteria, trying to scare up the bugaboo of this so-called socialized medicine? Locally we have not seen any effective opposition to this campaign which is attempting to bring a sort of mass hysteria based on so-called socialized medicine. Those campaigns have got to be organized, because there cannot be any doubt about this: As long as 60 percent of the people in the United States—and 60 percent of the people who are most likely to be attacked by any form of disease—are unable to obtain the kind of medical treatment that our people have every right to have, then all our attention must be directed to a solution of that situation, and you cannot solve the situation by trying to scare people, by telling them that that is socialized medicine and that they are bringing about the welfare state.

The thing we have to hammer home in all these programs are the facts. We have to get the facts out from the propaganda and we have to keep hammering the facts home, and if we hammer home to the people of this country the fact that it is 60 percent of our people in the low-income brackets who are most likely to be attacked by any form of disease, that they are the people unable to obtain proper medical service and nursing, we can come up with some decent, workable solution. Then there certainly can be no objection to a program of compulsory medical insurance.

We have to fight all these things, it seems to me, right down that line. In other words, we have got to fight propaganda with facts, we have to separate propaganda from facts. We must not let ourselves at any time be panicked by just the same kind of fight that you have been making in your union all these years. We have to realize what our goals are and keep driving for them, and not let anyone divert us in any way, shape or form from those goals. We must not at any time allow ourselves to be frightened by a lot of propaganda.

I don't care what they call programs of that kind, as long as those programs are right and will really bring to our people the kind of conditions we need and the kind of conditions we ought to have to effectively fight Communism in this country—because where do you find Communism in this country? Only in those areas in our rural districts or in the big cities where the people are herded into small areas, where they are taken advantage of rent-wise and in every other way, where disease is rampant, where there are no educational facilities and where they are the first people to be laid off in a depression. Those are the people whose standards have to be raised, and cannot be terrified by any cries of socialism or socialized medicine or the corporate state or anything of that kind. We cannot allow ourselves to be defeated in this fight by any criticism of that kind, in the kind of a program we want.

I think we have to do this same thing in this coming Congress when they reconvene. We have to make that same kind of fight for that whole civil liberties program. There is no doubt in the world that if we really organize ourselves properly we can get our civil liberties program through this Congress before it adjourns next spring. But if we take a defeatist attitude that the Southern Dixiecrats and the Northern Republicans can combine to lick that kind of a program, we will never get it through. We are convinced of this one thing, that the civil liberties program is one hundred percent right. If it is, we ought to bring it to pass, because we have today a majority of the members in our favor, certainly in the North, for this kind

of a program. We have a substantial majority in both Houses of Congress, and if labor, all labor, will only get behind this civil liberties program really effectively in this next Congress, when it reconvenes we can go back at this fight convinced that the fight is a just one and determine that we will keep at it until it is won, that we will keep Congress in session until that program goes through. I think if we do that we will break that whole log jam, and if we once break in Congress that whole civil liberties log jam and once show the Congress that a combination of Dixiecrats and Northern Republicans cannot control our destinies in those ways, I think we will break the log jam all the way up and down the line for all of the liberal legislation that we wish to see put through in this country, and that we will also be in the position to put to an end a lot of these witch hunts going on in Congress for much too many years, since the end of this war.

Witness the loss of great public servants like David Lilienthal, who finally became so tired of the kind of petty persecution to which he has been subjected, where he sees the whole program gradually hemmed in, where he sees the threat again of the military coming back and trying to control the great atom development program we have put through. And then we see great projects like TVA and others of that kind in danger—when we witness all this, believe me, it is time to start fighting all over again harder than we ever fought before, because we know that the favorite method of Republican and conservative parties in this country in fighting these programs is no longer by any direct frontal attack, but by indirect attack.

I happen to be a practicing attorney, and I have seen some evidence of it already in some of our departments. Take the Securities and Exchange Commission, which has been of tremendous help to the small investor in this country and also in keeping the whole problem of the flotation and financing of our big corporations honest. We see them trying more and more to slip into that Securities and Exchange Commission more and more conservative people, trying to cut down their appropriations.

Those are the things that labor and all the independent organizations in this country have got to watch. We have had an amazing program put through nationally in this country in the last 13 years, but unless we watch it like hawks day in and day out, unless we watch the kind of administration we have and the kind of men who are administering every phase of that program, the next thing we know we will have that program going dead on us overnight. Never before in this country was the old watchword any truer, that "The price of liberty is eternal vigilance." We have had the tendency in the last five or six years to say that we have made more progress than ever before, and now we can take it easy. And yet there never was as much need as there is today for every liberal element in the United States to be fighting harder than we have ever fought before, because unless we solidify our gains by expanding those gains, in four or five years from now we may find ourselves with our backs to the wall, fighting for the things we thought we had won in the past 13 years.

It is a tremendous privilege for me to welcome you. It is a great honor to me, and I know your Convention will be a splendid success, under this fine leadership. We are delighted to read in the Philadelphia press this morning that your membership is already well in excess of 200,000.

I hope you will have a splendid Convention in this city and that you will be back again very soon.

CHAIRMAN CRAIG: Now you can see what I mean about a fellow with a little organizational ability. He is able to get on his feet and say a few words now and then.

I want to turn the next part of our meeting over to our State CIO President, Harry Boyer.

HARRY BOYER

President, Pennsylvania State Industrial Union Council

President Shipherd, delegates to the Organizational Convention of the IUE-CIO: I am very happy to bring you the fraternal greetings of the Pennsylvania State CIO Council, comprising still a little over six hundred thousand CIO members in the State of Pennsylvania.

It is significant, I think, that on the part of the organized electrical, radio, and machine workers under the banner of the CIO the blow for freedom in the full sense of the meaning of that word should be struck in Philadelphia, affectionately known as the Cradle of Liberty.

As I look over this gathering, I recognize some of you who have been attending our State CIO Conventions over the years. I am reasonably certain that some of the dissident, by planning opposition to questions that will be discussed during your deliberations, such as has occurred over the years at State CIO Conventions, will noticeably be absent here. You will be here for work, you will be acting under the free dictates of your own minds, and you will be putting America first, and not some other country, in your deliberations.

You are making a very decisive move here today. It takes courage and fortitude for men to stand up and be counted in a movement at its inception, as you will be doing here today and for a few days following.

As President of the State CIO of Pennsylvania—and I say this with no degree whatever of facetiousness—

(President Philip Murray of the Congress of Industrial Organizations at this point was escorted to the rostrum, amid applause.)

PRESIDENT BOYER: I want to say that there is just simply no one I would rather have my speech interrupted by than President Murray.

For the past several years I have been subjected to some rather vicious personal villification, stemming from the same people and elements, as have many of you, for the very primary reason that among those actively leading in this fight to free from outside domination the membership of the UEW was the Secretary of the Pennsylvania CIO Council, Harry Block. I have got dozens of awful nasty letters—and it didn't mean a thing to me—telling me that it surely was wrong for Block to be interfering in the affairs of UE while on the payroll of State CIO, and that unless I would stop him it would be presumed I was agreeing with what he was doing. Never publicly have I said this before, but that is true; I was agreeing with what he was doing. But I did tell those various people—all of them who wrote me got a reply—that I felt that Block had a perfect right to participate as he saw fit in the internal affairs of his union just to the same degree as I thought I would have a right to participate in any affairs of my own union, the United Steelworkers of America; and when I sent that kind of a reply that was the last letter I got from those particular people.

You are going to be faced with the worst kind of slanderous campaign and you will need to be courageous to stand up against them. You may expect to be attacked at your respective local levels; you will be castigated personally. The people who will be attacking you are champions at falsification, half-truths, or wholly untruths, misrepresentations, confusion, disorder, and the other attendant mechanisms that go to create instability among people in their efforts to enhance their positions socially and economically.

I am proud to be present and to have in a small degree participated in this breaking ground, so to speak, on your part, in leading into the CIO those many hundreds of thousands of people in the electrical, radio, and machine workers industry who want—and I am sure you will provide the mechanics whereby they can get—free, democratic trade union representation and participation.

Thank you very much.
(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN CRAIG: The man whom it is my privilege to introduce needs of course little introduction to a gathering such as is assembled here today. Sufficient to say he was one of the staunch pioneers in the organizational movement in the related industries in the early days that brought membership in that large industry into the CIO. He has been in the forefront probably as much as anyone else, and maybe even more so, in the battle to free from the strangulation of the membership of the old UE the people who were members therein, and bring to them real, free, democratic trade unionism.

Without saying anything more, it is my privilege, and I deem it a distinct honor, to introduce to you the Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the IUERMW-CIO, James B. Carey.

JAMES B. CAREY

Chairman, Administrative Committee, IUERMW-CIO

President Murray, distinguished guests, delegates to the Convention, and friends: In behalf of the Convention I would like to say a word of appreciation to George Craig, Regional Director of the CIO in this area, to thank Father Gordon for his splendid word of prayer, the wonderful singer that set our Convention up in such fine order by the singing of the National Anthem, to Henry Shipherd, President of the Philadelphia Industrial Union Council, to Richardson Dilworth, better known to the people of labor as Dick Dilworth, to Harry Boyer, not just for honoring us by appearing before our Convention this morning, but the work they are doing in behalf of the trade unions and particularly the work they are doing in behalf of our new union.

You know every Communist in the world worships what they call the October revolution. We have reason to believe they will have concern about the November counter-revolution.

It is true our organization is about 26 days old, but that Resolutions Committee at the CIO Convention on November 1st completed its work and was prepared to report to the Convention on November 1st. They reported on November 2nd, and I think you all know the result. But I have before me a diary of the events that took place every day of the month of November 1949 to the present day when we have assembled here, 133 local unions representing 221,325 members of this new International Union.

I would like to present to this Convention the Secretary of the Administrative Committee, Bill Snoots; and the members of the Administrative Committee, Fred Kelley, Michael Fitzpatrick, John Dillon, Harry Block, Dallas Smith, Anthony Cimino, John Callahan, E. J. Kraft, Joseph Hawkins, and Robert Elsner.

It has been some time since I presided over a convention. I will put it this way, it is some time since I conducted a convention from the platform rather than from the rear of the hall. So you will have to forgive me if we proceed with some unusual dispatch in expediting the work of our Convention.

We have with us two of the Vice Presidents of the CIO, who will not address us at the moment.

I would like to present John Green, a Vice President of the CIO and President of the Shipyard Workers Union; and Emil Rieve, President of the Textile Workers Union, and a Vice President of the CIO, who will address the Convention at a later date.

(Applause.)

Now I will call upon the Secretary of the Convention, William Snoots, to present to this Convention the Convention Call.

Secretary William Snoots read the Convention Call as follows:

ORGANIZATIONAL CONVENTION CALL

Broadwood Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa., November 28, 1949

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS

Affiliated with the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

To All Local Unions heretofore chartered by the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, which International Union has been expelled from the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

November 3, 1949.

Greetings:

The Congress of Industrial Organizations from its inception has steadfastly maintained, increased and demonstrated its determination to improve the economic well-being of all the American people. Because of the deliberate refusal and failure of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America to function as a trade union established to improve the economic well-being of its members, the Eleventh Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations has revoked the charter of the UERMWA. Acting under the authority vested in it by the Constitution of the Congress of Industrial Organizations the Executive Board of the CIO has issued an international union charter to the

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS, CIO

ONE: To afford valid trade union membership within the ranks of CIO to former local unions and union members of the defunct UERMWA, and

TWO: To organize and bring into affiliation with the UE-CIO all unorganized and disorganized workers in the electrical, radio and machine manufacturing industries.

The International Union of Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers, CIO, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations are determined to guarantee to the workers within the jurisdiction of UE-CIO, not only the protection of real trade unionism, but also the democratic freedom of making and carrying out their own decisions, by which freedom alone real trade unionism can exist and flourish.

The UE-CIO and the CIO alike reject and denounce authoritarian theories and practices that would make or attempt to make trade unions into political organizations. Trade unions are economic organizations. They must not and will not as the CIO Convention has made clear, be prostituted to serve the false and degrading doctrines of Communism, Fascism, or any other form of totalitarianism.

The UE-CIO accepts in letter and spirit the Constitution of the CIO and the policy declarations of the CIO Convention adopted by majority decision under democratic procedure. It will neither resort to nor permit Cominform-dictated subtleties, falsehoods, treacheries and attacks on CIO which ruined the defunct UERMWA and brought all UERMWA members into disrepute with all real trade unionists and all the American people.

The CIO, through President Philip Murray, Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey, Vice President and Director of Organization Allan S. Haywood, and the Administrative Committee of the UE-CIO, now call upon all locals of the defunct UERMWA that are loyal to the principles of the CIO and the American labor movement, by the adoption of this Call, to disaffiliate immediately from the defunct UERMWA, and to affiliate with the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (UE-CIO).

The UE-CIO is the only union affiliated with the CIO, authorized to organize and represent workers in the electrical, radio and machine manufacturing industries. . . . The UE-CIO is committed—

ONE: To extend organization to all unorganized and disorganized workers in the electrical, radio and machine manufacturing industries.

TWO: To obtain for such workers through valid, sensible and honest collective bargaining adequate wages, decent working conditions, union and individual security, pension rights and all the other economic benefits to which they are justly entitled.

THREE: To dedicate its full force and influence to the CIO and its other affiliates in effectuating the democratic programs and policies devised by CIO for the benefit of all the American people, for the extension and expansion in the United States of the democratic rule under God set forth in our great American charters of human liberty, and for the attainment of world peace through justice among and between all nations and all peoples.

THEREFORE, in accordance with the decision of the Eleventh Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the charter issued by the CIO Executive Board, you are hereby notified that an Organizational Convention of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, will be held at the Broadwood Hotel, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, commencing at 10 a. m., Monday, November 28, 1949. All locals and all shop divisions within locals of the defunct UERMWA that

honestly believe in and subscribe to the trade union objectives set forth within this Call are invited and urged to send accredited delegates to the aforementioned Organizational Convention. We set hereto our signatures:

For the CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

PHILIP MURRAY,

President;

JAMES B. CAREY,

Secretary-Treasurer;

ALLAN S. HAYWOOD,

Vice President and Director of Organization.

For the ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF UE-CIO

JAMES B. CAREY, Chairman	JOHN DILLON	JOHN CALLAHAN
WILLIAM SNOOTS, Secretary	HARRY BLOCK	E. J. KRAFT
FRED KELLEY	DALLAS SMITH	JOSEPH HAWKINS
MICHAEL FITZPATRICK	ANTHONY CIMINO	ROBERT ELSNER

The information in this box is part of the official Call to the Organizational Convention, International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO.

REPRESENTATION

to which local unions or shops are entitled at the convention shall be determined on the following basis:

One delegate for the first 100 of membership. One additional delegate for each additional 100 of membership or major fraction thereof, with not more than ten delegates from any one local union or shop.

Two or more local unions or shops combining a total membership of not more than 300 members may combine their memberships for the purpose of sending one delegate to represent the combination of local unions or shops.

INTRODUCTION OF CIO PRESIDENT PHILIP MURRAY

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Our Convention is highly honored and privileged to have with us in this opening session of our Convention the greatest labor statesman in American history.

This man is a man of the people—the working people. His deep and sympathetic knowledge of the problems of labor goes back to the day when, at the age of 11, he entered the coal mines of Scotland to work beside his father. Arriving here in America at the age of 16 he again entered the mines. The existing degradation of mine workers and the injustices exercised against them aroused his righteous resentment.

In the years that were to follow he suffered under the blacklist imposed for union activity; he faced the private police mobs of management and the public policemen who were the tools of management; he knew the feel of cold bayonet steel at his back as he was run out of mining towns by national guardsmen. Repeatedly answering the call of duty, he went where even his associates often feared to go.

The present prestige of the United Mine Workers of America reflects in large measure the work of his heart and hand.

When, in 1935, the aggressive trade union elements of the American Federation of Labor, worn out by the inaction of their reactionary associates, decided to organize the unorganized workers of America in mass production

industries, this man became an outstanding apostle for the Committee of Industrial Organization. He never sought the limelight; he chose rather to take a place on the battleline. The problems of the steel workers and the packinghouse workers were his own chosen assignment, reflecting as they did the two greatest employer monopolies of America.

When, in 1940, it became necessary for the Congress of Industrial Organizations to move forward under new leadership, this man was summoned to lead the organization as President.

Those of us who were beside him in those days know full well the chaos and confusion that existed in the organization at that time. Within the brief space of a year the CIO was well on its way, organizationally and financially, to assume its proper role in giving leadership to all the working men and women of the United States.

These last nine years have been stormy ones for the American labor movement. World War II created entirely new sets of problems. Constant campaigns by subversive political elements in the American labor movement presented increasing threats against the existence of free unions in the United States. Those years also marked the first real participation of American labor in the world of international labor relations. As one who took part in the solution of all those problems under the direction of this great leader, I pay tribute to his integrity as a man, his courage as a labor leader, and his tremendous wisdom based on a knowledge of men.

He has been a long-time friend to the workers in our industry. Some of you will recall that last Thursday in December, 1935, when the Allied Radio group met in Pittsburgh to discuss the formation of an international union, this guest of ours came to that meeting and talked to us. He was the first labor leader of national stature to give us a word of encouragement.

Twenty-six days ago in Cleveland he stood forth as our champion in issuing a charter to the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO.

I consider it one of the greatest honors ever afforded me to be able to present to this Convention a great American patriot and our devoted friend, the President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and of the United Steelworkers, Philip Murray.

PHILIP MURRAY

President, Congress of Industrial Organizations

I bring to you in this, your first Convention, the fraternal greetings of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and I also bring to you the well wishes of my own union, the United Steelworkers.

I am honored to have the opportunity of joining with you here today in this great organizational Convention. And I take particular pride in stating to you the fact that I issued the charter which brings you into being as a new union and attached my signature thereto.

I have some appreciation of the problems with which the membership of the old UE were confronted during recent years. I have had direct personal experience in dealing with the officers of the old UE, who served as members of the CIO Executive Board, and whose President acted as a Vice-President of CIO.

The issue which brought about the expulsion of UE was one of Communism. The officers of that organization, to my best knowledge and belief—

and that knowledge and belief was predicated upon my experience in dealing with them—were nothing but common, ordinary, trade union parasites. They sought to inflict the judgments and the policies of the Politburo upon the CIO. They sought to create within the framework of UE an American Cominform designed in substance to lend aid and comfort not only the cause of Communism in America, but also to the expansionist policies of the Soviet Government.

I have consistently contended throughout the years that no man can be a good trade unionist in the U. S. who practices disloyalty to his country. My experiences in dealing with the officers of the old UE were such that prior to the convening of the recent CIO Convention I suggested to the officers of that organization that they make their appearance before the CIO Convention for the purpose of showing cause why they should not be expelled. Unfortunately, the officers ran away. They did not care to appear. They did not care to stand trial before a body of their peers, the sovereign power of the CIO, a Constitutional Convention. They resorted to their usual trickery by evading the issues, leaving Cleveland and issuing a public statement which in substance castigated the CIO and its officers.

Almost three years ago I called to my room in the City of Washington, President Fitzgerald of the UE, Julius Emspak and Jim Matles. I called them to my room to discuss Communism, particularly as that issue applied to the internal affairs of UE. I devoted almost three hours trying to persuade the officers that their policies should be changed to conform to the policies of the trade union movement, and particularly to the policies of the CIO. I told them then what you may be told now in this Convention, that insurrection was bound to ensue, that insurrection would take place among the members, that rebellion would develop unless the officers changed their policy to subscribe wholeheartedly to the policies of the CIO. I told them, as I told our Cleveland Convention, that the officers of UE in New York and its staff out in the field were virtually polluted, that most of them were agents of Moscow, that they reflected and represented the point of view of the Communist Party in America and the political philosophies of the Soviet Government.

My pleadings with them were of no avail. Hence, in the years following that meeting, uprisings made themselves manifest. The membership of the local unions got into a state of rebellion against the leadership of that organization. Manifestations found their way into my office in Washington and Pittsburgh. Hundreds of rank and file members of the union repeatedly pleaded with me to meet with them.

Again, just a little over one year ago when the President of the old UE, Mr. Fitzgerald, and Messrs. Emspak and Matles were making representations to me about other CIO organizations raiding your jurisdiction, I told them that in reality they were not raids, that these were local insurrections against the leadership. But again, they paid no attention to me.

In their recent Convention, the officers of that organization took occasion to castigate and condemn the CIO. They developed in the course of those proceedings a six-point program, they referred to it as a six-point ultimatum which in substance told the CIO that unless CIO did their bidding they would withhold their per capita.

What was their bidding? Their bidding was that CIO should enter the internal picture within the UE and endeavor to impress their membership

that they should not leave that organization. Well, anyone who had any familiarity with the facts prevailing within UE knew then as they must know now, that no power on earth could hope by intervention to win any of the people back to the old UE who were determined by might and main to leave it because of its Communistic domination.

Well, out of all those experiences there came about the resolution to which Chairman Carey makes reference here this morning, the resolution which expelled the UE from CIO. After that resolution was adopted the President of the CIO was authorized to issue a charter to this new organization. And you are meeting here today in solemn convention to give due and justifiable consideration to the manifold problems which will undoubtedly present themselves to you.

I come to you this morning as the President of a great organization, definitely committed to support you against all of your enemies, I care not who your enemies may be. I know that listed amongst your enemies are first, the Communist party. Secondly, you may find the leaders of the Communist party associating themselves with employers in certain situations to undermine you. Many of the employers in the electrical manufacturing industry may very well for the sake of expedience consort with, connive with, and enter into secret agreements with the officers, the old officers of UE, for the purpose of undermining your organization. The Communist party is not above that, they have resorted to practices of that description before. They will align themselves with employers to destroy the trade-union movement when such action is given the blessing of the Kremlin. Their first allegiance is to Moscow and to the Communist party. They will consort with the devil himself to attain their ends, whatever they may be. I have had experience of that description with this crowd. I know what they will do. They broke up the great miners' strike of 1928 in western Pennsylvania. They led back-to-work movements, they hired scabs, they associated themselves with gunmen, and they plotted and conspired with the leading coal operators of this State to destroy the Mine Workers in 1928. They did not care anything for free democratic trade unionism. Their prime interest in 1928 was the police state. And that is their interest today. And the old UE, for all practical purposes, was and is a police state.

Well, as one officer of the trade union movement in the U. S., feeling as I do a keen sense of responsibility and obligation to the millions of people I am privileged to represent, I swear to you here this morning, as I do before the God who made me, that I will fight them with every ounce of energy and wisdom that the Infinite Being has bestowed upon me. (Applause.)

They undoubtedly in the course of this fight in which you find yourselves, they undoubtedly will say to the public prints that we are engaging ourselves in Communistic purges; that we are worse than the Congressional Un-American Committee; that we drag red herrings over the face of the trade-union movement; they will resort to every known kind and system of subtle maneuvering to mislead the people, but invariably they get back to where they belong.

The issue is purely and unadulteratedly Communism; and Communism is an enemy of the democratic free trade union movement, and it is an enemy of the people, and it is an enemy of our way of life, and it is an enemy of all the decent things that decent people stand for in the United States of America.

I have presided over the destinies of the CIO since November, 1940. In all of those nine years, during meetings of the CIO Executive Board, during national conventions of CIO, I have yet to hear a single word of criticism directed against the foreign policy of the Soviet Government or the philosophies of Communism as such by any agent of those eleven organizations associated with the CIO, and particularly by any of the officers of the old UE—not a single shaft of criticism, not one word of mild criticism of any of the policies of the Soviet has ever emanated from the lips of an officer of the old UE.

But, to the contrary, they have in substance supported the foreign policy of the Soviet when resolutions dealing with international affairs were brought to the attention of our CIO Executive Board or to its National Conventions. No more damning record has ever been injected into the written pages of the history of the trade union movement than that written into it by the representatives of the UE who participated in our Conventions and in our CIO Executive Board meetings during the past nine years.

That is why you are going through the processes of organizing a new IUE affiliated with the CIO here today. You have undergone the rigors of a veritable hell. Many of you have suffered great personal inconvenience. You have made many sacrifices in combating the evil influence of Communism in your communities.

The officers of that organization have conducted wars of attrition against members of their organization who dared fight Communism. Officers of local unions have been suspended because they dared express opposition. Men have been discharged from their employment by and through connivance with the agents of the UE and the employers when some lonely individual stood up and pronounced his opposition to the Communistic policies of the leadership. That is a matter of record; that is history. Countless members of the old UE have communicated with me, giving vent to their opinions about the officers of that organization and the dominance over the membership by the commissars employed by the National Union and placed in the field to direct the destinies of their local unions.

The old UE was a Communistic nest, an inferno. They had brought into the union every notorious Communistic renegade that they could employ. They put them in the field to use their talents for developing Communistic trends within the framework of many local unions affiliated with that organization. That day is gone—that day is done not only for the UE, but it is gone for many other unions presently affiliated with the CIO, but not for too long. Each day we pick up the daily newspapers and we read stories about Communistic expansion in many foreign lands. We read the history of the travail in the Balkan countries. We read the damning story of Czechoslovakia. We read the story of Asiatic expansion. And yet, we evidently give little attention to the same philosophy and the same expansionism being practiced within the confines of our own borders.

So far as I am concerned, those boys are through. Yes, I say to you, my friends, they are through; they are through and you are going to see to it that they are through in your industry—I know you are. But I am quite sure, in fact, I am confident, that you will be able to overcome all obstacles in your attempt to rid yourselves of Communistic domination. The expressions of support that have been given you by many, many local unions in your industry are sufficient to convince me that you are going to win—and you

are going to win much sooner than you originally thought you were going to win.

I am conscious of the fact, as I have said before, that you will have tremendous opposition. There is no question about that. But you know, anything that is worth having in this life of ours is worth fighting for, and a good democratic trade union is worth having and it is worth fighting for. These men who formerly led the old UE will resort to the use of the local courts—they have already done that—to tie up your unions. They will resort to the use of the Taft-Hartley injunction. They will conduct themselves in the most reprehensible manner imaginable.

I am told that they have an agent at present using the air waves every Monday. I suppose he will be on tonight. The International Union paid that man for his services \$380,000 last year—\$380,000 of your money—to pollute the air waves with his diabolical cunning, most of which was diverted from the cause of trade unionism to the subtle field of international politics and Soviet ideologies.

And you people here today, representing over 220,000 members of that union, contributed from your hard-worked-for earnings out of your pay envelopes \$380,000 to that man to pollute the minds of the American people, to promote ideologies foreign to us. And the members of the Board of the old UE who gave loud voice to their democratic conditions did pay this man that amount of money. And this man went on the air waves and he attacked many of our International Unions affiliated with the CIO, including the Steelworkers of America, the Auto Workers, and many other unions. And your money was used for these purposes. I suppose many of you have heard this fellow talk. Get rid of that fellow and get rid of all the people who use your money for these adventures.

Well, I have devoted some of my time here this forenoon to the basic elementary features of the fight in which you now find yourselves engaged. There are other important things ahead of you, of course, in the formation of a great organization such as you have already formed, there are these various economic aspects that have to be looked into by your organization. There is a great deal of work to be performed in improving your standards of life, your working conditions and your wages; and your organization must necessarily be a militant union that will devote itself conscientiously to rendering honest service to the people it is privileged to represent in the plants; it is the bounden obligation of any union to expend its energies for the betterment of the people. It must reconstruct an organization that will render a better and greater service to the people than did the old UE.

Let me point up a matter in passing here that may be of interest to you. The old officers of your union, the old UE, engaged themselves originally in collective bargaining during the year 1949, in the month of May in this year. I picked up the newspaper one beautiful, bright, spring-like morning and I read on the front page the story to the effect UE was demanding a \$500 package. Humph. And May passed, and June, and I still kept reading about that \$500 package. July came along—an occasional squib in the newspapers about the \$500 package. August, the \$500 package had virtually disappeared. September, the UE Convention came along and discussions were revived about the \$500 package. October and November have now come, and December is about on us, and what has happened to that \$500 package? There, my friends, is the \$64 question.

Do you, any of you here, know anything about it? It is missing; it is absolutely missing. I did read in the newspapers that the officers of the UE had been meeting Westinghouse last June and they had met for a day and then recessed for a month, and then they met for another day and recessed for about another sixty days. And I wondered what about this thing they call collective bargaining. Where is this spirit; where is this fight; where is this militancy? The Steelworkers were negotiating last June. We were making certain demands and certain types of representations to the steel industry to improve our lot in life. We were prepared to strike about it; we were having serious disagreements with the industry, and our collective bargaining conferences went on for months. But the spirit of militancy was there. Our case was tried before a Federal Fact Finding Board. The union was fighting with its back to the wall to improve the conditions of its people, making a splendid, spirited, fighting case. And whilst I was over in New York making this presentation of the Steelworkers' case to the Board, I picked up a Pittsburgh newspaper and there on the front page was a story to the effect the UE was having a mass meeting at Turtle Creek to protest unemployment. Well, that is all right, you know. I believe in protesting against unemployment and fighting for the elimination of unemployment, but the Steelworkers had stated this was a man-made recession by the employers, created by the employers, and it carried the fight to the employers on that basis. But not the old UE. They met in a ball park over in Turtle Creek to make announcements about unemployment and the psychological effect of these so-called unemployment meetings was depressing. Going into a conference with a \$500 package in this hand and an unemployment package in this hand! What a hell of a state of affairs.

How do you strengthen your bargaining power under conditions such as that? Talk about militancy—they are the greatest band of cowardly knaves that ever existed. There is absolutely no sense of trade union decency. I contend that in this giant electrical industry in the year 1949 the workers employed in this industry should have made very substantial gains. There is no reason why they should not. The industry has been about one of the most profitable industries in the United States. There is no lack of profit; the financial position of the leading electrical manufacturing companies is in excellent condition. But we move around in the UE—not we—they move around in the UE, with a \$500 package that is lost, lost or stolen. I wish that this Convention would offer a reward for the return of that \$500 package.

My good friends, you have got to change the attitudes of this organization of yours with respect to collective bargaining. There has got to be less wind and more practical, intelligent constructive energy.

I am not here in the spirit of bombast about what the Steelworkers have done this year. But when we entered our fight, after four months of spirited negotiations, we were told by many weak people that we could not win this fight, that the country was going through the processes of a recession, that it would be a terrible uphill fight and that we would lose. But, in response to a telegram issued from my office 558,000 people quit work in the basic steel manufacturing industry and they struck for six weeks, and they won for themselves a pension and good social insurance gains.

Our organization was not running around with secret packages in its hip pocket. It was fighting the Morgans, Wall Street; it was fighting the

most powerful financial interests. But it fought—it fought. Its militancy was around the collective bargaining table and on the picket lines. It was not bellyaching about unemployment and lack of food. There is a great big difference between a Communist hypocrite and a trade unionist. They would sell their soul for a mess of pottage and they would trade the trade union movement down the river if it would serve their own interests.

So you, my good friends, are going through the formative period now, and you have got to build this organization on a veritable Rock of Gibraltar. You have got to build a fighting organization, a clean, hard-hitting organization, an organization that will not be polluted, an organization that will represent the interests of the people employed in these plants and represent the viewpoint of the trade union movement in America—an American trade union.

If I am correctly informed the 400 delegates at this Convention here this morning represent some 228,000 men and women. Your responsibilities run far beyond this ballroom. They run out into the homes of perhaps 750,000 people, maybe closer to a million men, women and children. You have the privilege of representing them here in this meeting.

Your organization and its leaders must live with the people. You must feel their pulse-beats, you must know the things they are thinking and talking about; you must understand them and you must work with them and provide leadership for them to follow.

Fight valiantly and relentlessly toward the attainment of your legitimate goals. You have an excellent committee here of ten very able, hard-hitting, conscientious, energetic men, and at the head of this committee is Jimmy Carey, who has been associated with me as an officer of CIO for nine years. Jimmy is possessed of all the qualifications essential to the performance of this organizational task which you have assumed. You must repose confidence in your leadership. You must not permit discord to develop within your ranks. Yours will be a permanent institution of everlasting benefit to the people employed in this industry and to your country. Don't let anything stand in your way of winning this fight. You are going to win. In the interests of your people and in the interest of your union you have to win. And you can't loll by the wayside nonchalantly and indifferently and lazily and criticize the officials of your organization and win this fight.

So all hail to the new International Union of the IUE-CIO. May God guide you and protect you, and may your leaders have the benefit of His guidance and His blessing. You are in a good fight, a noble fight, and a holy fight. Victory will attend your efforts. And may God bless you in these deliberations.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I have frequently expressed myself as being grateful to the labor movement for the opportunities I have had presented to me. More than anything else I am grateful for the opportunity of being so long associated, in fact throughout my whole adult life, with Phil Murray.

Perhaps you feel as I do about the great inspiration of being a participant in this great Convention. Thanks, Phil, for your great support in the past, which is plenty of assurance and insurance about the kind of support we will receive from you and your organization in the struggles that we have before us.

I am asking the delegates to please turn their chairs and face the camera in the rear of the room, so that a picture of the Convention may be taken at this time.

(The official convention picture was taken.)

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Perhaps you are not accustomed to having a convention that operates all of its activities openly and aboveboard. We have with us representatives of the press. We create no barriers to any press representative with credentials gracing the press table. We sincerely believe that we have an organization that will have an impact on the lives of all American people, and through the medium of the press, with all of its shortcomings, of course we want the people of America to be aware of what we are doing here in the city of Philadelphia.

We have received and accepted credentials, not only from the regular daily press, but we are pleased to have with us the representatives of the Daily Worker and the UE News. They have all the rights and privileges of presenting in their own way what they see and hear at this Convention. There will be no effort made to stop anyone from taking any pictures or writing their news columns. I haven't heard from Westbrook Pegler, but if he should come, as long as he is quiet and not disorderly and conducts himself in a sober manner, he can be here, too.

I want to thank Al Hartnett, Joseph Hawkins, Frank Fiorello, Frank Murray, Herman Carter, and Frank Blechinger for escorting President Philip Murray to the platform; they did an excellent job, and I think those people deserve the honor they had of being members of the first Reception Committee of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO.

CONVENTION COMMITTEES

Chairman Carey read to the Convention the recommendations of the Administrative Committee for membership on the various committees of the Convention.

The following committees as recommended by the Administrative Committee, together with several nominations from the floor, were approved and adopted by the Convention:

CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

District	Local	Committee Members
1	101	Harry Block, Chairman
7	801	Robert Elsner, Secretary
1	102	James Campbell
1	105	George Berry
1	113	Charles Goff
1	116	Daniel Rymshaw
2	201	Thomas Gilroy
2	202	Anthony Cimino
2	278	Edward King
3	301	John Rej
3	301	Frank Fiorello
3	509	Fred Hadfield
4	452	Clifford Haley
4	453	John Page
4	455	Nicholas Tabak
4	475	Mark J. Lax
6	601	Philip Conahan
6	610	Robert Klingensmith

6	627	Clarence Keener
7	707	David Fitzmaurice
8	808	William Wallace
8	1104	William Blackenship
11	1117	Louis Ervin
11	1121	Alfred Swanek

CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

District	Local	Committee Members
7	711	Joseph Hawkins, Chairman
4	450	Paul Jennings, Secretary
1	118	Louis Ginsburg
2	266	Harry McIntire
3	509	Frank Murray
5	524	John Morton
6	601	Charles Copeland
8	1108	James Hibbits
9	902	James Pascoe
11	1121	Al Fineman

OFFICERS REPORT COMMITTEE

District	Local	Committee Members
6	601	Michael Fitzpatrick, Chairman
4	425	John Dillon, Secretary
1	101	Frank Pellegrino
1	103	M. Lynch
1	113	Robert Cox
2	202	William Hartley
2	220	Leo Messier
3	301	Frank Kriss
4	423	John Stoss
6	617	Guy Fragle
7	722	Priscilla Halmagi
7	757	Raymond Messer
8	805	Charles Hubbs
8	1102	James W. Click
11	1114	Charles Jeske
11	1121	Earl McGrew

RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

District	Local	Committee Members
2	201	Fred Kelley, Chairman
8	1102	William Drohan, Secretary
1	101	Frank Blechinger
1	111	Bertrand Hoffman
1	136	William Roche
2	202	Leo Benoit
3	301	Kathleen Herring
3	509	Joseph Staffieri
4	425	George Collins

4	445	James Callaghan
4	455	LeRoy Mifflin
6	601	Eugene Rath
6	621	John Reinhold
6	627	William J. Parker
7	717	James Sayers
7	755	E. J. Kraft
8	1108	Frank Lenhardt
9	917	John Barkley
9	1001	Herman Marsischke
11	1114	Tony Choc
11	1117	Lee Parks

RULES AND ORDER COMMITTEE

District	Local	Committee Members
9	901	Dallas Smith, Chairman
4	255	John Callahan, Secretary
1	102	Michael Toohey
1	136	Joe Wirtz
2	289	Harold Burtt
2	291	Eileen Dooley
3	301	Frank Styles
3	316	Daniel Bachman
4	450	T. Kitilson
6	617	Harold Moss
6	627	Dale Stuart
7	717	Homer Pierce
7	755	C. L. Montgomery
8	814	Henry Anderson
9	1001	Charles Snodgrass
11	1114	Jack Witt

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I think perhaps now we ought to recess until 2 o'clock. I will ask that the Committee on Rules and Order and the Committee on Credentials be prepared to report to this Convention promptly at 2 p.m. The Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order and the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials be prepared to make at least partial reports promptly at 2 o'clock this afternoon.

We have now reached the point in our proceedings where we can recess until 2 p.m. to meet again in this hall this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 o'clock p.m., the Convention stood recessed to reconvene at 2 o'clock p.m.)

FIRST DAY—MONDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention was called to order at 2:30 o'clock by Chairman Carey.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair recognizes Joseph Hawkins, Chairman of the Credentials Committee. The Credentials Committee will please come forward.

(See complete report of Credentials Committee, page 78)

Committee Chairman Hawkins moved the adoption of the partial report. The motion was seconded and carried.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order, Dallas Smith, Local 901, a member of the Administrative Committee.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN SMITH: John Callahan, Secretary of the Committee, will submit the report.

Committee Secretary Callahan submitted the following report:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS

RULE 1. The Convention shall be called to order daily at 9:30 a.m. and adjourn at 12:30 p.m.; reconvene at 2:00 p.m. and adjourn at 5:30 p.m.

RULE 2. The main body of the hall shall be reserved for the exclusive use of the delegates. Visitors shall occupy only those seats assigned to them.

RULE 3. No member of the Convention shall speak more than once on the same question until all who desire to speak shall have been heard. Speeches shall be limited to five minutes and no one shall be allowed the floor more than twice except by consent of the majority.

RULE 4. The Convention shall be governed by Robert's Rules of Order except when a motion is made to lay on the table and there are amendments appended to the original motion. The motion to lay on the table shall then apply to the pending amendment or amendments and it shall require a new motion to table the original motion.

RULE 5. When a motion to table is made, the motion shall not be put until the sponsor of the original motion is given an opportunity to speak on the question.

RULE 6. Committee reports on specific subjects shall receive prior consideration.

RULE 7. Resolutions submitted from the floor shall be referred to the Resolutions Committee except by a majority vote of the Convention.

DALLAS SMITH, Chairman

JOHN CALLAHAN, Secretary

MICHAEL TOOHEY

JOE WIRTZ

HAROLD BURTT

IRENE DOOLEY

FRANK STYLES

DANIEL BACHMAN

T. KITILSON

HAROLD MOSS

DALE STUART

HOMER PIERCE

C. L. MONTGOMERY

HENRY ANDERSON

CHARLES SNODGRASS

JACK WITT

—Rules and Order Committee.

Secretary Callahan moved the adoption of the report of the Committee. The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

MESSAGES OF GREETING

CHAIRMAN CAREY: At this time I would like to present to the Convention a message from the President of the United States.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Washington

November 25, 1949.

Dear Mr. Carey:

Please extend my cordial greetings to the officers, delegates and members attending the convention of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers.

I wish them every success in their deliberations on matters affecting the welfare of the union members and their lives as citizens of our great democracy. The policies adopted at the convention can afford workers in the electrical, radio and machine manufacturing industries full and free opportunity to build for themselves a bargaining agency representative of their hopes and aspirations as loyal American citizens.

As such, I feel confident that, in keeping with their dedication to the democracy which has served our people so well through the years, they will always oppose subservient activity, in and out of the labor movement. Under a democratic government we have prospered and taken our place of world leadership, and through democratic processes in all the activities of our public life, we can continue to go forward in the service of humanity.

Very sincerely yours,

(s) HARRY S. TRUMAN.

Mr. James B. Carey

International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers

Broadwood Hotel

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: It would not be possible for us to read all the greetings and messages that have been received by this Convention. However, when the occasion arises we will provide you with at least some summary of the many greetings we have received.

I would like now to move to the important question of the Economic Report of the Chairman of the Administrative Committee. There have been distributed to the delegates copies of the IUE-CIO Report. I commend this report to your attention. I ask that you familiarize yourself with its contents. I will not take the time of the Convention to read the report, but will provide you with a summary of its contents.

Chairman Carey then submitted the following synopsis of the report:

The IUE-CIO is already one of the big CIO unions. As of November 26, charters had been issued to 128 locals with a total membership of over 211,325! Not bad for an international union less than four weeks old.

Already the IUE-CIO is ready to take its place alongside steel, auto, rubber, clothing and textile as one of the big vital pace-setting unions in the American labor movement. Already the IUE-CIO is ready to carry its fair share of the CIO fight for a better America. Although we are already over the half-way mark and are fighting for all American workers in the electrical radio and allied industries, we are looking beyond the present fight to the collective bargaining table. We have made such solid accomplishments in the last three weeks that we can afford to ignore for the time being the communist and fellow-traveling phonies who sought to make the UE a tool for Russian imperialism.

This statement is in the nature of a report to you on the electrical, radio and allied industries and on the wage status of our members in this industry.

SALES, PROFITS, DIVIDENDS SKYROCKETING

Few industries in the United States have enjoyed so great a relative expansion and so favorable an earning record as has the electrical machinery and equipment industry. Few industries enjoy today so favorable an outlook for continued productive expansion and earnings. Here's the picture since 1939:

	1939	1944	1948
Sales (in millions)	\$1,844	6,874	8,549
Profits, After Taxes	148	430	575
Dividends	96	109	208
Undistributed Profits	52	321	367

One very interesting fact to remember in connection with the above figures is that although total industry sales jumped 20 percent from 1944 to 1948, the number of production workers dropped from 765,000 to 558,000 or 27 percent.

OUTLOOK FOR INDUSTRY EXCELLENT

Experts have estimated that **\$20 Billion** will be spent through 1955 just for expansion of electrical generating capacity in this country. By 1955, electrical consumption in homes is expected to increase 53 percent while electrical consumption by commercial and industrial users is expected to jump 47 percent.

The tremendous expansion of electrical generating capacity in public utility, rural electrification and public power projects will provide a tremendous market for the products of the electrical machinery and equipment industry, just as extension of electrical power to additional hundreds of thousands of homes, promises huge increases in sales of electrical appliances and electrically powered equipment.

If we consider the anticipated expansion of television, atomic energy projects and programs, the further development of jet turbine engines, we will have every reason to consider the future of this industry one of great promise.

PRODUCTIVITY UP 30%; REAL WEEKLY WAGES DOWN FROM '43

The figures on productivity per worker and real weekly wages are very interesting. Here they are listed separately:

Year	Output Per Man Hour
1943	100.0
1944	105.8
1945	116.5
1946	124.0
1947	130.6

Although money wages have jumped from an average of \$27.09 a week in 1939 to \$56.57 for the first nine months this year, real wages have increased only \$6.00 in terms of the 1939 dollar and have been falling since 1944.

Year	Weekly Wages Index
1943	100.0
1944	103.3
1945	98.2
1946	89.0
1947	87.7

HOW DO WAGES COMPARE WITH THOSE IN AUTO, STEEL AND OTHER INDUSTRIES?

Wages in the electrical, radio and allied fields are lower than those in other industries organized by CIO unions. Here's how the figures stack up as of September, 1949:

Industry	Average Hourly Wage
Electrical	\$1.448
Auto	1.703
Steel	1.652
Transportation equipment.....	1.667
Aircraft	1.540
RR equipment	1.620
All durable goods	1.481

These figures speak for themselves. We in the IUE-CIO propose to do something about this situation.

HERE'S OUR PROGRAM AND IT'S A FIGHTING PROGRAM

1. PENSIONS. \$100 a month minimum including primary social security for all workers with 25 years service at age 65. **But** and this is a big but—not only will this pension be employer financed, but there will be severance pay provisions as part of the pension plan. When a worker dies, his widow and survivors will get regular death benefits.

2. SOCIAL INSURANCE. This will provide for medical care, death benefits, hospitalization and surgical care for worker and his family, and payment while sick or disabled.

3. WAGE ADJUSTMENTS. We want adjustments to bring the wage status of workers in our industry up to that of steel, auto, aircraft. We want wage adjustments so that our workers will get their fair share in increased productivity. Consider these facts: productivity has gone up 30 percent since 1945, employment has gone down 27 percent since 1944, and corporate profits after taxes per production worker has doubled in the same period.

The IUE-CIO will concentrate all its strength and all its energy in doing an honest-to-God militant trade union down-to-earth job in improving pay, security and welfare conditions of the men and women who work in this industry and in fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with the other great unions in the CIO to build a stronger, healthier, happier America.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: If there be no objections, the Economic Report of the Chairman of the Administrative Committee will be referred to the Committee on Officers' Reports, to be referred back to the Convention for the consideration of the delegates.

A motion to that effect was unanimously adopted.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair will accept a motion to dismiss the Rules and Order Committee with the thanks of the Convention.

A motion to that effect was unanimously adopted.

MESSAGES OF GREETING

Chairman Carey read messages of greeting from Michael Mann, of Chicago, from the Birmingham, Ala., Industrial Union Council, and from Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I would like very much to have the Convention authorize the Chairman to make suitable reply to these telegrams and to all other persons who took the time to greet us while we are assembled in our deliberations.

A motion to that effect was unanimously adopted.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I have been asked to continue with my diary that I started this morning. I will give it to you starting from the first day of November when the CIO Resolutions Committee completed its study of the application of the IUE for a charter in response to the ultimatum the UE Executive Board gave to the CIO.

The second day the Convention expelled the United Electrical Workers and the Executive Board met at noontime following lunch and authorized President Murray to provide a charter for the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO.

The following day the members of the Administrative Committee were presented to the Convention. We had sent out that day calls to this Convention. We also sent out messages to all the corporations in the industry notifying them we wouldn't like it if they signed sweetheart agreements with the defunct UE.

We had meetings with the CIO organizational staff on the fifth of November, on which they pledged their all-out support and recognized the No. 1 priority for CIO organizers anywhere, whether directly associated with the CIO staff or its affiliated unions, would be lending encouragement and active support to the IUE-CIO.

I had the pleasure after leaving the Convention at Cleveland to address a meeting of the local union at Cincinnati. By accident I had with me a charter all filled out. Although that local one month before was completely dominated by the Communists, we had a unanimous vote of the members there in carrying out the program the Administrative Committee had recommended to them, to cease affiliation with the dead UE and join the organization of the IUE-CIO, and to make a few changes among their officers, to install those officers into office and provide a decent trade union movement that would not be isolated from the CIO movement.

It was the first charter installed after the CIO's action—although I understand there is some question as to that.

On November 7th we opened our office at 734 15th Street—that is the Walker Building—in Washington, D. C. The telephone number is EXecutive 6096. There was some criticism we were all set to go, that we had offices leased, with letterheads, and telephones installed, and bookkeeping equipment, paper clips and erasers and pencils, and everything. We are not at all disturbed about any criticism that we were ready to function. If they want to make the charge directed to us that we were efficient, we will be pleased to have such charges received.

On the 9th of November, as the result of an announcement on the 8th, the General Electric Corporation decided to find itself guilty of a practice that the judges in our courts had found that corporation guilty of during the last war, simply, trafficking with the enemy. I hope to receive a different expression on the part of the General Electric Corporation and an end of those statements they pass out every few minutes when Mr. Boulware of that corporation seems moved to drop some pearls of wisdom. He apparently believes we have a factional fight going on in the labor movement. It is

strange a man in the position of Boulware of General Electric does not know that the Communist party is engaged in war against the Electrical Union and particularly CIO. I think we will have to engage in some organizational activities in order to get General Electric to stop trafficking with the enemy.

On November 10th, 9,857 workers, members of Local 601, assembled in a stadium in Turtle Creek, Pa. It is true we had five dissenting votes on the financial resolution, but 9,857 enthusiastically voted to disassociate from the defunct UE and become another chartered union of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO. There again, by some strange act of fate, I had a charter with me all properly filled out. But the vote was unanimous. And may I commend the Executive Board and officers of Local 601 for being able to hold a meeting under the auspices of UE 601, calling that meeting to an end and having another meeting in which they carried out all the duties before them in one hour and five minutes. Two meetings completed the activity. We had some plans to march with our band from the stadium down to union headquarters where the Communists had barricaded themselves in. Our mission would have been a peaceful mission; we intended playing a few funeral dirges. However, it was unnecessary, because the Commies scampered out of 601 headquarters so fast it was humorous to see them operate. They had for a moment thought they were in Czechoslovakia, or Poland, or Bessarabia or Esthonia, or some other place. So fortunately we did not have any particular ruckus in order for these workers to get back their property.

We also had a meeting that day with the National Labor Relations Board and discussed some of our problems. Following that discussion we notified the corporations and the National Labor Relations Board, and filed with the Labor Board for General Electric, Westinghouse, General Motors, Radio Corporation of America, for their Camden, N. J.; Lancaster, Pa.; Pulaski, Va., and Hollywood, Calif., plants. The Allis-Chalmers Corporation has a petition filed for certification to determine what union represents their workers in their Boston plant.

On the 12th of November Westinghouse filed for certification on a plant-by-plant basis. On the 13th the hundreds of members of 201 in Lynn, Mass., crowded the halls and voted IUE-CIO.

On the 14th I had the pleasure of meeting in the stronghold of old William Sentner of the Wagner Electric Company in St. Louis. While it is true we didn't have very many sympathetic officers, we had a very friendly trustee, and the sergeant-at-arms didn't make it too difficult for me to get into the meeting. When those 3,200 people voted unanimously for the CIO, and a charter from the IUE-CIO, it was a sight to behold. Of course it was not really unanimous because some of the officers had left mumbling something about this meeting of 3,200 people was illegally called, with malice aforethought, and so forth.

On the 15th we had a little skirmish in 103 of RCA, because sitting before that meeting, much to the annoyance of John Leto, who asked me to please leave the meeting, I told him I didn't care to leave the meeting, and he said, "We have paid 25 policemen to kick Carey out of the meeting and evict him if he came in. Will the captain of police please put Carey out." Surprisingly enough it was the same captain I met in a strike on another occasion, and the captain looked at me and decided he wouldn't put

me out. Leto said, "We paid these people good money to come here and do hard work for us, and we cannot get it done." How cruel is life! Leto is trying to get his money back from the policemen. Then in a huff old John left the meeting. It was interesting.

On the 17th 7,000 from local 301 decided to throw off the dictatorship of Leo Jandreau in Schenectady, N. Y. Old Leo got so tough he took a punch at the president of the local, Frank Kriss, and missed him and fell off the platform.

On the 18th Boulware issued another statement for General Electric entitled, "We Must Be Neutral."

On the 20th we had an opportunity to address Local 255 in Pittsfield, Mass. And that was a tough one. On the first resolution they got eleven votes; it was reduced to eight votes on the second motion, and got lower and lower as time went on, and finally someone was brave enough to ask a question. The question was asked and it was answered, and the next vote was unanimous. John Callahan refused to believe it. He said, "There must be a vote somewhere under these chairs against this resolution." One delegate got up and said hysterically, "I will never vote with John Callahan," and walked out of the meeting. He was afraid he'd be convinced.

We had some meetings in Peterboro, Canada. It was amazing how they got to understand this fellow Jackson. We sent a letter to Mr. Wilson the following day, and we have not received a reply to that letter. Mr. Wilson is president of General Electric.

Of course the 24th was Thanksgiving day. We just had one day of thanksgiving after another through that month.

We have some warm feelings for the kind of work you fellows are doing out in the field. I want to say this: I have been a pretty tough taskmaster in National Headquarters, so if you see some of these fellows on the platform drop over occasionally it is not so much because of the excitement and emotion here, but because of the work they have been performing day after day and night after night during this month of November. That is the reason.

We modified our application with the National Labor Relations Board for General Motors, for General Electric, and for Westinghouse, to provide it on a plant-by-plant basis, and have had committee meetings of General Electric, Westinghouse, and General Motors and the other subdivisions in our industry to brief our representatives on Labor Board procedure, to organize the Conference Committees for negotiation, to provide it be broken down corporation by corporation, and in a way even the representatives of management will understand. We will also discuss our plans and practices and procedures in collective bargaining. The work started yesterday for General Electric, Westinghouse, and General Motors, and we are hoping the other divisions and chain groups in our industry will proceed in an organized manner to do their job effectively.

Of course I failed to mention we had an Administrative Committee meeting day before yesterday as part of our historical document for the month of November. But I ask you in all sincerity primarily to give us the backing we need in getting at the moment three things done. First, getting your Local Unions qualified before the Regional Offices of the National Labor Relations Board. You will have to file non-Communist affidavits of all the officers contained in your provisional constitution. You will have to file

copies of your provisional constitution and you will have to file financial reports, and the simplest way to file a financial report is to state on the financial form that you are a new Local Union and the fiscal year of your Local Union will end on September 30, 1950, and therefore no additional financial information is required at this time.

It is important that you be qualified immediately, because if you fail to do that you may hold up another local union somewhere else that moved fast enough to get their important duties done.

We also want to be able to prove our interest in this union and in representing the local members in the various plants, so we need representation cards signed. I don't expect any group to meet the record of the General Motors group. We asked for 30 percent and they gave up 65 percent in 48 hours, and now they have signed representation cards in General Motors for over 97 percent. Not bad for a new union.

And Westinghouse and General Electric are coming through, and it would be a joy to you to see how fast these people are performing. But one Local Union in Westinghouse or General Electric failing to comply with the requirements necessary to qualify before the Labor Board will hold up every other General Electric local. The same thing is true of Westinghouse, and quite frankly I expect all the Local Unions to provide no alibis and no excuses, but merely the record of their accomplishments. We also expect, especially in General Electric, Westinghouse, and General Motors, to have rapidly signed up their check-off authorization cards, and these cards like the other authorization cards for collective bargaining should have printed on them the statement that "This authorization supersedes any previous authorization signed by the undersigned."

The National Office is 734 15th Street, Washington 5, D. C.; the telephone number is EXecutive 6096, in case you want sample cards or want cards in bulk.

In the course of reading you our schedule for November, I failed to mention we also gave birth to a newspaper, the IUE-CIO NEWS. I hope you will like it. It is your paper. We would like to have your comments and your views on our official organ.

Will the Convention please be at ease at this time for a moment. We are awaiting our guest speaker, Francis J. Myers, who is being escorted to the platform by the Reception Committee.

(The Convention was at ease for a few moments.)

The Committee appointed to escort United States Senator Francis J. Myers to the platform performed the task assigned to them. The committee consisted of Anthony Cimino, Joseph Kelley, Frank J. Murray, Clifford Haley, C. L. Montgomery, and Simon Hidar.

SUBCOMMITTEES TO ORGANIZE CONFERENCE BOARDS

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Following are the committees to organize the Conference Boards and determine the standards in each of the corporations, determine the demands of our Union to be directed to these corporations, to work out the procedures of contract negotiations, to bring about an orderly procedure for the adjudication of grievances, and to prepare a report for the full Conference Board of each of these chain corporations, as well as the National Labor Relations Board procedures:

WESTINGHOUSE

Name	Local	
Michael Fitzpatrick	601	Salary
Joseph Hawkins	711	Lamp
Leo Benoit	202	Hourly Check
Clarence Felker	107	
Dick Lynch	410	
Rodger Coyne (Sec.)	601	

GENERAL MOTORS

(Electrical Division)

E. J. Kraft	755	Conference Board
Bob Elsner	801	Present Standards
Frank Murray	509	Demands
Sid Sayers	717	Contract Negotiations
Harold Merrel	416	Grievances
Homer Pierce (Sec.)	717	NLRB

GENERAL ELECTRIC

David Fitzmaurice	707
Fred Kelley	201
Ed Houchins	119
Dallas Smith	901
Frank Kriss	301
John Callahan	255
Frank Fiorello (Sec.)	301

A motion to approve the committees as announced was unanimously adopted.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Should there be any questions about these committees I will be glad to hear any suggestion from any of the delegates regarding the particular subcommittee on the Conference Board they would be associated with.

A DELEGATE, Local 320: There is no member on any of those committees from Local 320.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: That is correct. There are a lot of Local Unions not represented on the subcommittees. That is why I made it clear that they were subcommittees. It is not the Conference Board. They are merely to organize the Conference Board. I assume from the discussion we had yesterday that on the Conference Board that Local Union will be represented.

We have on the platform a man of the people. He has devoted his life to the cause of humanity.

A native of Philadelphia, he was educated at St. Joseph's College, and Temple University Law School. He soon entered public life as secretary to a crusading district attorney, John Monaghan. He helped fight the forces of crime and showed so much the promise that when the New Deal came along the good people of Philadelphia of the Second Congressional District chose him as their Representative. After several terms in the House, the people of Pennsylvania, logically and wisely, chose him as one of their two Senators.

His forthright character advanced him to top leadership in his party, the Democratic Party, and he is now Majority Whip in the United States Senate.

In introducing him I am sure that I am presenting to you a man who will be re-elected to the United States Senate in 1950—Senator Francis J. Myers.

HON. FRANCIS J. MYERS

United States Senator, Pennsylvania

Mr. Carey and my friends of labor: That was indeed a splendid introduction. Let me preface my remarks by saying that my voice is leaving me, and I am not just sure how long it will hold out. Therefore, you don't need to worry that I will unduly delay you, because I must be rather brief.

But again, that was a splendid introduction. I am sure you know that chairmen of meetings and toastmasters at dinners are permitted to stretch the truth somewhat, and although they know and those in the audience know that everything they say about the one who is introduced is not true, nevertheless the one who is introduced enjoys that kind of an introduction.

However, I only hope that there was a little more truth in Jim's introduction than there was in a caption that appeared under a photograph in a newspaper in Tampa, Fla., some years ago. Back in 1945 my wife and the wives of several other Congressmen were invited to Florida to christen some boats. The war was still on, and the girls did a fairly good job of pushing the boats into the water. The next day a newspaper in Tampa, Fla., carried a picture of my wife and under it was this caption, "U. S. S. Voyager christened by Mrs. Myers, the wife of Congressman J. Bradley." Now I only hope there was a little more truth in Jim's introduction than there was in that caption.

When I was asked to come here, not to address you, not to make an oration, not to make a speech, merely to greet you who are assembled in my native city of Philadelphia in this great crusade in labor in CIO, I willingly accepted that invitation. And so I congratulate you upon the calling of this great Convention. It is a courageous act on the part of CIO, and it is an American act. It is fundamental, because you have said to those who do not believe in the American system, you have said to those who have been willing to traffic with those nations behind the Iron Curtain and with Russia itself that you will have none of it, that they are read out of this great American labor organization, and that you intend to reorganize and see to it that your Union adheres closely to the American pattern, to the democratic way, and that you will have nothing whatsoever to do with those people who have been trying to destroy the labor movement, trying to destroy your union—yes, and who would destroy the American system if they had their way.

And so I congratulate you—I congratulate you, too, upon the splendid leadership which has been yours and will be yours in the years ahead. I have known many men in all walks of life, in business, in labor, in agriculture, and in politics. But I can say to you that I am convinced that the man who just introduced me, Jim Carey, is one of those who has gone forth into the arena of labor organization, who has devoted himself with all the power of mind and heart and soul and intellect to the service of his fellows and to the service of his country. And, indeed, he enjoys for himself a high

place in the respect and in the admiration and in the esteem and in the affections of not only organized labor, but of all real Americans. I hail Jim Carey from this platform, not only as a great leader of labor, but as a great American who is devoting himself to the cause of democracy in labor and outside of labor. You, indeed, are fortunate that you have him here with you today.

I understand that earlier today another great American, another great labor leader, addressed you from this platform, and I am willing to say here and now that Phil Murray is the leader of a great organization, the CIO, too. He is devoting himself to the cause of his country, because we cannot have real economic security in America, we cannot have full employment in America, we cannot have prosperity in America, unless we have strong labor unions in America. And they indeed are contributing to the economic security of our country. Phil Murray is in the forefront of that movement to guarantee to America economic security for all of our people.

That reminds me of an incident that happened here in Philadelphia not so long ago. The President of the United States came here to address the American Legion back in the summer, and we had a reception committee that met the President. We assembled in the Mayor's office at about 9:30 in the morning, the Governor, the Mayor, and other public officials, and myself, the leaders of labor, of business, too. We waited for about an hour and finally drove to the 30th Street Station. We stood around the 30th Street Station for some time waiting for the President's train to come in. Finally the train came in, we greeted the President, and took him to the Bellevue-Stratford, where there was a reception and a luncheon. We had two other head tables, a tier of three tables. I was seated here at this table and the President at the next table. I shook hands with my friends, and then we finished the luncheon and went to the Convention Hall, where the President was to address the American Legion. There we gathered around the front of the platform, and I stood around with my friends, and after the speech we took the President back to the station. There again we waited with him for 10 or 15 minutes and we exchanged some pleasantries.

When the train left I then went back to my office in the Land Title Building. It was a very hot day, and so I took off my coat. I was ready to leave the office when someone said, "What in hell happened to you? Look at your trousers." I looked, and I saw that they were split wide open in the back from the belt line down to the knee. What worried me was whether that had occurred in the morning or whether it had occurred after I came back to the office. Someone said to me, "We think you did it on purpose, because many people saw you that day, and we think you wanted to remind people that many of them had the back seat out of their trousers not so many years ago, you wanted to remind those who had forgotten that those times could come again unless we make absolutely sure and certain that the goals which we have won under the New Deal and the Fair Deal are not lost, that the gains we made for the people, all of the people under the Fair Deal and the New Deal are not lost."

And there was something to that statement that was made to me with the backside out of my trousers, because I think too many people forget what has been done in the last sixteen years. Too many people forget how far America has traveled along the road to full employment, economic security, and how far we are endeavoring to travel now for a peaceful world.

Where was labor back in 1932? They were not even permitted legally to bargain collectively, and it was only because of the laws placed upon the statute books by liberal men and women in the Congress, joined by a liberal President, that we were able to have this fine, splendid gathering of organized labor today. It is only because of the National Labor Relations Act that you probably will go back and hold elections in all of these unions and see to it that those men who believe in the American way will control your Locals and control your National Organization.

And so on down the line. We have been maligned, we have been condemned, we have been criticized. First it was socialism. Back there in the early days of social security it was said that social security was going to destroy America, and then later on that the Wagner Act was going to destroy America. Then the Minimum Wage Act was going to destroy the free enterprise system. Socialism was the cry, and yet as we went along year after year more people had work at higher wages and with greater prosperity and a greater spread of the good things of life for all the people than ever before.

Now in the 81st Congress it is called statism, it is called the welfare state, and they seem to forget that the Constitution of the United States itself provides for the promotion of the general welfare of all of the people.

And so we enacted the slum clearance and low-cost housing Acts in this Congress. Is that the welfare state? Is that statism, to try to clean up the slums in our cities, to endeavor to provide housing for our people at rents they can afford to pay?

And at long last we raised the minimum wage from 40 cents to 75 cents an hour. That is helpful to those who are unorganized, more so than to those who are organized. But I wonder if that, too, is looked upon as the welfare state.

We are going to increase and extend social security benefits in the next session of the 81st Congress, and I wonder if that, too, is looked upon as the welfare state?

I think the opposition never learns. They think that the people have forgotten, and I believe the people do not forget and will never forget how they labored and toiled in the 20's and the 30's, and how many of them did not labor and did not toil in the 30's, because there was no work for them to do.

And so we go along year after year, increasing the opportunities for all of our people, increasing the prosperity of these men and women, increasing employment in this land, and we are doing it for all the people. We are not doing it for any segment, we are doing it for all the people.

Certainly I can remember back in those dark and dreary days when they could not even get the cost of production on the farms, when farms were being foreclosed and agriculture was in the worst dilemma it has ever been in the history of the country. I think now that agriculture is learning that it cannot be prosperous unless the people in the cities are prosperous, and I think the men who work in the factories and mills now realize that they cannot be prosperous and cannot have full employment unless those on the farms are prosperous, too. At long last we are integrating this economy and we are all beginning to realize that we must work

together for the benefit of all if we expect to be prosperous and if all of us are to be happy. And so I think the 81st Congress, under the magnificent leadership of Harry Truman, has been seeking those goals. The torch was tossed by Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and we are carrying on in the 81st Congress with this same Rooseveltian ideal. We carried forward for the people, we did not forget what we had learned in those 12 years, and we think we carried on for business, too, because nobody has been more prosperous than has the business man during these years. But they just don't learn, they just don't seem to understand that you must be prosperous, that you must be employed at good wages, yea, at high wages, in order to buy the products of industry, in order to make profits for industry, in order to make profits for management and for the stockholders.

They just don't seem to understand or realize, but nevertheless America is forging ahead, and we are helping the world, too, and the one thing that did more than any other to bring about the cleavage between the UE and now the IUE were the views that some of those leaders in the old UE had on matters of foreign policy. They did not seem to realize that America cannot stand between the two oceans and hope to be prosperous by itself, they did not seem to realize we have done everything in our power to promote and to build a peaceful world. They did not seem to realize that we were not responsible for the Berlin blockade. They did not seem to realize we did not drop the Iron Curtain, that we want nothing from other peoples, no lands from anyone else, we just would like to extend our kind of democracy, our kind of prosperity to all the peoples of all the earth. Yet this leadership in some segments of labor seemed to think that they had a greater interest or a greater loyalty to some other country rather than to their own United States of America.

In the last war we gave of our energy, we gave of our strength, we gave of our treasury, we gave of our manpower, we gave of our boys. For what? Only for peace, only for the preservation of the four freedoms, only that we and all peoples could have freedom of religion, could have freedom to meet here and say what I want, what Phil Murray wants, what Jim Carey wants. That is all we fought for, that is all we want for all other peoples. But unfortunately one nation in the world does not believe in that kind of democracy, does not believe in those kinds of freedom, does not believe in the dignity of man and does not believe in the decency of man. So some few people in labor and out of labor, some few people did everything they could to hinder that foreign policy. Before Pearl Harbor and before the German attack on Russia then the war was a capitalistic war, and the moment Russia was attacked then they all flocked around and said, "We must do everything to assist that nation." Then after the war the same old line again, infiltrating, not doing what was the best for you, the membership of organized labor or the membership of your Union, but doing what was best for them and what they thought was best for some other country.

And so my hat is off to you and for you and you will only have made sure that will not happen again. You men and women, Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile, Democrat and Republican, white and colored, have joined your forces together in a democratic union in the democratic way for your union, for your membership, but above and beyond that, for your country. And more power to you. (Applause.)

In the 81st Congress through the Marshall Plan we determined that we should feed the hungry, we should clothe the naked, we should shelter the homeless of western Europe and other parts of the world, and we invited all the world in, outside and inside the iron curtain, in order that those countries that had been destroyed by the ravages of war could be rehabilitated and rebuilt, and that little coterie, that little group fought that plan and the other being successful. The nations of western Europe now are being rehabilitated. And it is that group that fought the Atlantic Pact, the pact we were interested in for our own self-interest in order to protect us and our little ones for the years ahead.

I have said, and I will say again, particularly to you men of labor, few people in America realize America was at war except those who joined the armed forces, their families, particularly the families of those who didn't come back; but the lights were burning brightly in Philadelphia, in Pittsburgh, in Cleveland, and San Francisco all during the war. The lights were on, the bombs were not dropping, and alien armies were not marching up and down the highways and roads of America. But the next time, the next time we may be the first object of attack, because in two world wars we were the last object, and became the arsenal of democracy. God forbid there should be a third time, but if there should be we may be the first object of attack; and that is the reason we are spending billions of dollars on our own defense, because Russia appreciates and admires, if it can admire, force and strength. And so the Russian public may come to believe America means business if we remain strong. And the other billions we are spending, I repeat, not as a matter of charity, but those billions are being spent on those people who suffered what we did not suffer in the second world war.

That is our program, that is our policy, and we are being successful in it. I think we are winning the cold war. We won the Berlin blockade, and those things are a rent in the iron curtain. And I think we are marching forward to a world of peace. It will take time and money, but we must have economic security at home if we expect to spend that kind of money in the world, and we can only have that with full employment, with a happy and contented people who believe in democracy, who believe in the Bill of Rights and who believe in the fundamental decencies of the American people. And I know you do. And so I am hopeful we will march forward together out of this era of darkness into God's bright sunlight of faith, hope, contentment and everlasting peace.

You have made a great contribution, you have made a magnificent contribution, you have made a splendid contribution, you have made a remarkable contribution to building the economic security of America and to building a peaceful world, because you have stricken from your ranks those who neither believe in democracy or believe in decency. And so I end by again congratulating you and ask that you help us, too, because the President • nor the Congress nor Phil Murray nor Jim Carey, nor the others that are gathered here, George Craig and Harry Boyer, and all the other leaders gathered here, can do it alone. We must have you, you the people who believe in our program; we must have your help to see to it that we forge ahead with these programs underway in the Congress, programs for the benefit of all the people whether they be of high or low estate. We must

have your help, we up here, and the President and the Congress must have your help for these international programs that have been promulgated, not for war but to prevent war; programs that have been initiated to build a peaceful world. If they are to be continued—and we are going to have a fight on them in Congress in 1950—we must have your help, the rank and file of American people, the real backbone of America, you the people, we must have your help. And I pray that we may have it in order that we can continue as we have in the past as men and women who could stand with their heads back, afraid of no one or no nation because they are confident they are in the right path, they are confident their country is a country that will bring that kind of security and peace to the world, men and women who have confidence in themselves, confidence in their officers, confidence in their Union, confidence in Congress, if you will, and confidence in their President and confidence in their country.

God bless you; may you have a fine Convention.

(Applause.)

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Thank you. I think the Convention has ably demonstrated their support of the views that you express. I think perhaps you aided in making it unquestionably clear why the people, all the people of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, should make sure our great Nation has your splendid services in the Senate, brought about through the energetic activity of this IUE-CIO in getting out the vote, as well as the other Unions of the CIO and other labor organizations, sometime prior to the election campaign in 1950.

At this time I would like to call to your attention that I have received about the highest compliment of my career from the Chairman of the Committee on Rules and Order. When the officers of that committee made a first draft of a report to this Convention they included a Point 4, which stated that should any delegate operate to disrupt the activities of the Convention they would be called to order by the Chairman, and then upon not obeying the request of the Chair they would be expelled, and that the Secretary of the Convention would notify their Local Union.

The Chairman of the Committee advised me that that provision would not be necessary while Jim Carey conducted the chair. It is a high compliment, and I merely call to your attention that the copy you have received contains that provision, which has been deleted by the committee, and we will govern our affairs according to the rules and order adopted by the Convention without that provision being contained in it.

We will, with your permission, recess the Convention at this time to provide each and every delegate with an opportunity of studying the Economic Report, and also to provide the Resolutions Committee with an opportunity of meeting immediately at the end of this session, without making it necessary for the Committee members to be absent from any part of the Convention proceedings.

RECEPTION COMMITTEES

The following reception committees were appointed to meet the guests who had been invited to address the Convention on Tuesday:

RECEPTION COMMITTEE FOR REVEREND HARRY SCHOLFIELD

Tuesday, Nov. 29, 9:30 A.M.

Robert Elsner, Chairman—Local, 801
Joseph Prior, Local 116
Ralph Labriole, Local 283
Robert Leaf, Local 627
Charles Louis, Local 755
Viola Pascoe, Local 902

RECEPTION COMMITTEE FOR HONORABLE WILLIAM H. DAVIS

Tuesday A.M., Nov. 29

Frank Kriss, Local 301, Chairman
Leo N. Messier, Local 220
Ken Peterson, Local 425
Herbert Yochim, Local 621
LeRoy Bartley, Local 808
Conrad Grimes, Local 804

RECEPTION COMMITTEE FOR EMIL RIEVE, PRESIDENT, TEXTILE WORKERS UNION

Tuesday P.M., Nov. 29

Michael Fitzpatrick, Local 601, Chairman
Michael Toohey, Local 102
William Emery, Local 201
Joseph Minish, Local 445
James Sayers, Local 717
Frank Lenhardt, Local 1108

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Announcement was made as to the time and meeting places of the various committees.

DELEGATE PARAN, Local 202: I should like to inquire on a point of information if the inspiring address we heard this morning from President Phil Murray will be placed in printed form for the benefit of the delegates assembled here?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The request is that the inspiring speech of President Philip Murray be made available in written form. We will make arrangements for the delegates to have the summary of proceedings day by day; also, where possible, we will arrange to have matters such as suggested by John in printed form available for the delegates.

(At 4:25 o'clock p.m. the Convention stood recessed, to reconvene tomorrow, Tuesday, November 29, 1949, at 9:30 o'clock a.m.)

SECOND DAY—TUESDAY MORNING SESSION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,

November 29, 1949.

The Convention was called to order by Chairman Carey at 10 o'clock.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: We have with us this morning the pastor of the First Unitarian Church, of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and may I say he is a man who has seen some real service. He was in the battlefront during the war, and I would rather not lead you to believe that he is a recent convert to this fight for the four freedoms. He has been in the battle lines of the industrial centers of the United States. We worked with workers in Dunkirk, New York. His activity in the city of Philadelphia is well known to the labor leaders in Washington. His effective work in the field of race relations has been known to the officers of CIO. His work here in the city of Philadelphia as a member of the Board of Directors of the Council for Equal Job Opportunity for the people, regardless of nationality or race, falls well within the framework of the purposes for which the CIO came into being.

It is with great pleasure that I present to you to open this session of our Convention Reverend Harry Scholefield.

INVOCATION

Rev. Harry Scholefield, Pastor, First Unitarian Church

Shall we bow our heads for the invocation?

Almighty and most gracious God, in whose being we live, in whose light we have our goals and ambitions, we ask Thy blessing upon this gathering. We ask in all things that we may work together for the cause of freedom and democracy. We know that in union there is strength. We would know further that, according as that strength is justice, respect for means as well as ends, respect for equality, it is Thy strength.

Be with us this day, that in all our deliberations and decisions we may do the honest, the true, the just thing, and thus show in deed as in word that we are Thy sons and daughters—Amen.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The members of the Resolutions Committee will please come to the platform. The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, Fred Kelley, of Local 201.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

Committee Chairman Fred Kelley submitted the following report:

Fellow delegates, the first resolution is one proposed by the Committee on CIO policy.

Resolution No. 1

CIO POLICY

WHEREAS, the recent Eleventh Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations adopted sound policies which mean the end of a Communist domination of decent trade unions in America, and

WHEREAS, the CIO has barred Communists, fascists or other totali-

tarianists and their sympathizers from being officers or holding positions on the Executive Board of that great organization, and

WHEREAS, the CIO has set up machinery to expel any unions which put the Communist Party above the interests of the working class,

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED,

That the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, vigorously endorses the actions of the recent CIO Convention, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED,

That the IUE-CIO pledges it will work for the implementation of CIO policy through its own Union, through Industrial Union Councils, through the use of CIO services, such as "Community Service Committees" and through carrying its message directly to the people, and by the further

RESOLUTION

That this Organizational Convention of the IUE-CIO appreciates the grant of a Charter by the CIO and an opportunity to give thousands of workers in the electrical, radio and machine industries a chance to be represented by a progressive, decent American trade union.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN KELLEY: Mr. Chairman, the Resolutions Committee moves the adoption of this resolution

The motion was seconded.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: You have heard the recommendation and the motion is to adopt. We will now throw the floor open for discussion of the resolution.

I would think that perhaps on this occasion we might make available to the delegates of this Convention all of the pertinent information regarding the issuance of a charter by the Congress of Industrial Organizations to the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO. I think you are all aware, better than anyone else in the United States, of why the CIO revoked the charter of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. I do not think that that requires any further discussion.

However, I would like to say that our organization will be subjected to a great number of charges from time to time. Perhaps it will be news to the delegates from Fort Wayne, from Schenectady, from Lynn, from Philadelphia, or from Pittsburgh that Fitzgerald does not agree with the actions taken by the memberships of your Local Unions. He, in fact, made a statement yesterday, and in order that there not be any misunderstanding I will read it in full.

President Albert J. Fitzgerald of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) today made "the flat prediction" based on undeniable evidence, that the overwhelming majority of UE's 600,000 workers in the electrical and machine industry are supporting the UE on the basis of gains they have won during the 14 years that UE has been organized.

"Contrary to newspaper and radio reports, the evidence at hand shows that UE members are not being stampeded into the company-union type of organization which CIO top officials have set up to make back-door deals with employers," Mr. Fitzgerald declared.

The statement by Mr. Fitzgerald was the first report from the UE International office on the status of the Union throughout the Nation since UE voted to withhold per capita payments to the CIO.

"Examples of how facts differ from claims of the spokesmen for this CIO company union," stated Mr. Fitzgerald, "are to be seen in 13 of UE's largest local unions which, among many others, are loyal to UE.

"All of these major locals took direct action in support of UE at duly constituted membership meetings in the past few weeks. Yet all of these local unions are 'claimed' by the CIO company union.

"These 13 major local unions represent 80,000 UE members and are located in Camden and Bloomfield, N. J.; Lynn, Pittsfield, and Springfield, Mass.; Pittsburgh and Sharon, Pa.; Cleveland, Ohio; Fort Wayne, Ind.; Fairmont, W. Va.; Schenectady and Syracuse, N. Y.; and St. Louis, Mo. Ten of these 13 local unions are in General Electric and Westinghouse plants.

"In addition, another 12 of the largest local unions claimed by the CIO," Mr. Fitzgerald continued, "are claimed solely because a handful of Carey officers are in control of these locals and have steamrolled actions through sparsely attended membership meetings.

"Such locals are located in three plants in Philadelphia; Springfield, Mass.; New York and Buffalo, N. Y.; Mansfield, Lima, and Dayton, Ohio; Indianapolis, Ind., and two locals in St. Louis, Mo.

"Altogether a total of only 4,000 workers attended meetings of these 12 locals. Called for purposes of secession despite the fact that the locals represent about 50,000 workers, all loyal UE members were barred from entering these meetings.

"When the rank and file members of large UE local unions have the opportunity to express themselves, their actions are typical of a rapidly developing trend throughout the entire membership. The solid gains won by UE—which are unequaled by any other industrial union—are the most compelling argument which the workers are citing as they reaffirm their loyalty to the union which they have built," Fitzgerald stated.—Bill Cahn, Publicity.

I don't know whether the newspapers were supposed to print the statement of Fitzgerald, but because of the reputation of people like Fitzgerald, Matles, Emspak, Ben Gold, and Bridges, for departing occasionally from the truth, I thought it would be wise if you had an understanding of what they believe to be the situation within our industry.

I hope that this Convention will assist in bringing Fitzgerald up to date in the ordinary facts of life as they apply within the electrical, radio and machine manufacturing industry.

Your Administrative Committee has had several meetings. We met prior to the CIO Convention, in keeping with the instructions your committee received at the UE Convention in the same city of Cleveland. We worked out a great number of plans of action. We wanted the CIO to have the full information about the revolt and insurrection that was taking place in our own industry against the domination of the Communist party over the union that we helped to build.

In presenting those facts to the delegates to the CIO Convention we found that they were largely informed by the activities of the International representatives of the UE in the various areas in the United States. They had recognized for a long time the effort of the UE International Representatives to isolate our Union from the rest of the labor movement. Too many of us have put in a great deal of time and effort in building an industrial union in the electrical, radio and machine manufacturing industry, we have fought too hard to have that organization become part of the mainspring of

organized labor to permit some group to turn it into an adjunct of the Communist party.

When Fitzgerald talks of company unions, Fitzgerald should know something about company unions, as should Emspak. But when we speak of political company unions certainly Matles should be able to straighten Fitzgerald out as to exactly what we mean. So as these fellows go back to their company union notions, to their political company union notions, I think they will go back stripped of any credentials representing the workers in this industry.

In recommending to this Convention that we do not take the time at this moment to adopt a full and complete constitution to govern the affairs of our organization, and not to elect officers at this convention until such time as we have had clarified in our industry, first, this question of Communist domination, and secondly, the question of establishing stability in the field of management-labor relations—we recommend to this Convention that before votes are taken for officers or for a definite constitution not subject to change, that we provide a provisional constitution that can be changed each and every time we meet together in Convention; that we will have serving temporarily an Administrative Committee, selected at Cleveland and perhaps affirmed at this meeting, to continue to govern, under your direction, the affairs of the organization until we hold our first Constitutional Convention.

We sent to the CIO, prior to the time the charter was issued, a letter as follows, on October 31, 1949, addressed to President Murray:

October 31, 1949.

Mr. Philip Murray, President
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Statler Hotel
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear President Murray:

There is attached our formal application to the Congress of Industrial Organizations for a Certificate of Affiliation. We wish to supplement this application by a brief statement of our plans and objectives for your consideration and that of the CIO Executive Board.

We believe that we represent a great majority of union men and women in the electrical, radio and machine industry. These workers have no sympathy with Communism or with the efforts of the present leadership of UE to make that organization simply a tool of the Communist Party. The workers in the electrical and allied industries want a free and autonomous union affiliated with the CIO and devoted to its principles which will genuinely represent their desires. We intend to give them that union.

We are confident that ultimately the entire membership now to be found in UE will free themselves from the Communist tenacles which are strangling that organization, and will find their way into our union. We further confidently expect to organize hundreds of thousands of workers not now in any union.

We frankly realize, however, that the struggle to free workers now held captive by UE will be long and difficult. The Communist Party will spare

no expenditure of money or effort, and will stop at nothing to retain its foothold in the American labor movement.

Therefore, we intend to build carefully and soundly.

We do not believe that we should contemplate calling a constitutional convention to adopt a final constitution for our organization until we have succeeded in bringing into our organization at least the great bulk of union men and women in the industry.

In the meantime we shall operate with provisional officers and under a Provisional Constitution. The officers will be selected by our Administrative Committee and that committee has approved a Provisional Constitution which we are ready to submit to you.

While in our view it is too early for us to convene a constitutional convention, it is our intention to convene within the next month or two a policy convention to chart the over-all policies which our Organization will follow and to map out the wide organizational campaign which we expect immediately to launch.

We want to secure for our Organization the ablest and best qualified persons available. We, therefore, request that you consult with us upon the selection of persons for important positions. We will appreciate it if you could also designate the CIO Executive Officers and Vice Presidents as a committee to aid, advise, and assist us in our organizational problems.

Please let us know whether these plans meet with your approval.

Faternally yours,

(Signed) JAMES B. CAREY, Chairman
WILLIAM SNOOTS, Secretary
FRED KELLEY
MICHAEL FITZPATRICK
JOHN DILLON
HARRY BLOCK
DALLAS SMITH
ANTHONY CIMINO
JOHN CALLAHAN
JAMES KRAFT
JOSEPH HAWKINS
ROBERT ELSNER
Administrative Committee

In response to that communication setting forth the views of the Administrative Committee we received on November 2nd the following acknowledgement and reply:

November 2, 1949.

Mr. James B. Carey, Chairman
Mr. William Snoots, Secretary
Administrative Committee
Hollenden Hotel
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Sirs and Brothers:

I have your letter of October 31 and your application to the Congress of Industrial Organizations for a union certificate of affiliation. Our Executive Board has acted favorably on your application. I am delighted that

the workers in your organization, many of whom have been members of the CIO for so long, are remaining with us, and I take pleasure in welcoming your organization into the CIO. Your certificate of affiliation is attached.

The plans for your Organization outlined in your letter seem to me entirely sound. I, too, am confident that you will be able to bring into your Organization the great bulk of union men and women in your field. However, I, too, appreciate your struggle will not be an easy one and that we must not anticipate an easy victory.

Therefore, I think you are wise in postponing the convening of a constitutional convention until such time as you have achieved a substantial measure of success with regard to your organizational aims. I likewise agree that it is a matter of utmost necessity for you to concentrate your energies during this initial period upon your organizational activities.

I will be glad to confer with you with regard to the selection of a qualified staff for your Union. I will also be glad to designate the Executive Officers and Vice Presidents of the CIO as a committee to advise, assist, and aid you in organizing workers in your field.

Fraternally yours,

PHILIP MURRAY,

President.

The Administrative Committee has been guided by the commitments it has made to each other and to our organization and to the CIO. That is why the members of the Administrative Committee have been selflessly devoting their attention to the problems of building an organization to provide a moratorium on the election of officers in order to make it unnecessary to engage in widespread campaigning. I frankly have deep convictions on this subject. I think it would be unfortunate if we should require men actively involved in Local Union struggles to devote their time to engaging in campaigning for office in the union. There are some people, myself perhaps included, that would have an unusual and undue advantage should an election take place at this time, or in the past. I think it would be unfair and unfortunate if we did not conduct ourselves in a manner to make it possible for the people that will be governed by the officers to express their views after they understand the issues and gain a knowledge of the people and can participate in their selection.

Some may consider it more democratic to have an immediate election, or to have held an election in the city of Cleveland immediately following the UE Convention. My own views were in direct opposition to such a course. I appreciate that the members of the Administrative Committee, some of them quite likely men who perhaps would receive the recognition they deserve as officers of our Union, have decided to carry out this kind of program. We don't necessarily have to have a struggle among ourselves for officers of this organization. I think a good time for an election of officers would be when we are able to free some of the people who are eligible to seek office, as you all are—and every member of the IUE-CIO is eligible to seek office—and that they not have to devote their time and energies for that purpose at this time.

Now perhaps after hearing some explanation of why the Administrative Committee unanimously attached their signatures to this recommendation you may to some degree understand why we have not been pressing for an

election and why we are recommending that we do not elect officers in this International Union at this time, except to continue the present Chairman, the present Secretary, and the present members of the Administrative Committee until a Constitutional Convention of this organization is called.

I repeat, do we want to take time out now for the purpose of electing officers or do we want everybody in this organization nationally, district-wise, and locally to proceed on a basis of bringing some measure of stability in our industry and in our Union?

Your Administrative Committee respectfully requests that this Convention support them in the recommendation that we proceed as we have been to this date for a short time to come. That subject matter is a matter for discussion at this time under the resolution presented to this Convention.

DELEGATE BENOIT, Local 202: I move, Mr. Chairman, that we accept and adopt the recommendation of the Administrative Committee at this time.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The motion is to adopt the resolution and the recommendation of the Administrative Committee.

DELEGATE KETTYLE, Local 440: Mr. Chairman, and fellow delegates, I second the motion to adopt the resolution presented to this Convention by the Committee.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I recognize a member of the Administrative Committee, Fred Kelley.

DELEGATE KELLEY: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, I would like to now talk on the resolution as proposed by the Committee, but I would like to talk on it as a delegate to this Convention rather than as a member of the Committee.

The press release that your chairman just read to you I hadn't heard or seen until I heard him read it, but I would like to make a few remarks on it.

Someone in the Western Union Company apparently is on our side, because the wording—Jim Carey is getting a little bit timid, I am afraid; he didn't read it as it is printed—it says here, in talking about the gains the old UE, the now defunct union, won for its members, it means to say, "during the 14 years the UE has been organized," and the word "during" is spelled "d-u-n-g."

I would like to speak a little bit about that d-u-n-g, because, Mr. Chairman, when he points out in a press release of that kind that Lynn, Pittsfield, Schenectady, and so forth, are now on the side of the dead UE, I would like to tell you a little bit about those meetings he held. He calls them in that press release duly constituted meetings of those memberships, and Fitzgerald lies in his teeth when he puts out such a release. Fitzgerald never put out that release, and if you asked him what it said he would say, "I don't know, I didn't know it went out." That is the way he has excused every single press release that has ever gone out under the name of the UE; he would tell you, "I didn't know it went out." And he would say, "I agree it is wrong, Fred, I agree it is wrong but I didn't know it went out." I would say, "Fitz, your name is attached to it. Put out another release contradicting it." And it never happened.

When he talks about duly constituted meetings of these memberships, what is he talking about? When it says in the newspapers that there will be a membership meeting of Local 201, the only ones that can call that meeting are the members themselves. He knows that. He happened to be

there when we drew up the constitution. He knows it. But he buys the ads saying there will be a duly constituted meeting of 201, and he comes into town with the master boogymen of them all, Jim Matles, gets him on the platform and Matles says, "You are going to lose your holidays and all the gains in the contract if you vote to go into the new IUE." Then Fitzgerald gets up, and at the first meeting of 201 called he did have a thousand people there. That is absolutely truthful; 850 of those people were right-wingers, because we told them to go there. What happened at the next meeting of 201? There were 150 people present, and he talks about duly constituted meetings—150 people, and a lot of them payrollers, a lot of them members of the Communist party and other groups. And now Fitzgerald wants to tell you these people are in favor of the old UE. Fitzgerald knows he is lying—except Fitzgerald never made this statement at all, it was made by someone else, and if Fitzgerald were here today he would say, "I didn't know it was going on, I had nothing to do with it."

I think a resolution as important as this, on affiliation with CIO and our beliefs in CIO policies, there should not be speeches from this platform. The Daily Worker and the UE News, represented down here in front of me, have already made releases that this Convention is going to be run from the platform, that there will be speechmaking, but there will be no participation on the part of the people, and if you people are not thrilled by the fact you have now cleansed yourself of the filth you were formerly attended with, if you people are not proud of the fact you are now tied in solidly with the CIO instead of just the label and wrapper you used to have in the CIO, if you are not proud of those things, then sit there and keep your mouth shut and let the UE News and Daily Worker go to town on you.

I think, Mr. Chairman, this is the time for the delegates, the rank and file people on the floor, to get up and tell specifically how they feel about the CIO. I think they should get up and tell this Convention and tell the press and tell the representatives of the perverted press—meaning the Daily Worker and the UE News—let those people know you came into this movement because you believe in the type of resolution presented here today, that you believe in men like Philip Murray, that you believe in all the honesty and decency of the greatest trade union movement this Nation has ever seen. If you don't believe it, sit there and give them something to write about. I beg of you to get up and defend this resolution with all the power and persuasion you have.

DELEGATE BERRY, Local 105: I raise this question because it has been mentioned in the Constitution Committee that there was some new meeting contemplated in April of the coming year. The Constitution Committee wanted some clear thinking about that issue before they went ahead with the discussion on the constitution itself. The month of April was mentioned. I would like to have that clarified, if possible.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I suppose the Constitution Committee can make its recommendations. However, as you will note, as late as October 31st of this year your Administrative Committee, despite the wisdom it contains, did not determine definitely the date of this Convention. We said that within a month or two we would hold an organizational convention. It is a shorter period of time than we anticipated.

There are factors that would guide the Administrative Committee in determining when we would be able to proceed according to the recommenda-

tion that I presented to you. Number 1, how fast can we get National Labor Relations Board hearings and elections in our industry.

Number 2, you might be governed to some degree as to how fast we can wipe out the remnants of the opposition among the Communists in at least the big chain operations. We have to determine those things based on our experience in the next few weeks.

You may argue at this point, and I think properly so, that you are fulfilling the direction of the Administrative Committee by constituting this meeting into a constitutional convention, because we do have the bulk of the workers in our industry as part of this International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO. But, quite frankly, there are a great number of Local Unions that have their funds restrained by some misguided members of the judiciary, and we are saying to you plainly that the Administrative Committee cannot at this time give you a definite date when we can proceed according to the view of the Administrative Committee. We just don't know whether it will be in April, in March, in June, or in July. We would just say to you that if this question is left to the recommendation of the Administrative Committee the meeting will be held at the earliest possible time consistent with meeting the needs and requirements of our Union. It is a simple proposition of placing before the interests of candidates for office the interests of the welfare of this organization.

We can't say—if we could we would tell you. You now have all the information that the Administrative Committee has regarding this matter. We are asking for an additional period of time in order to involve all of the people in a free and autonomous way to engage in making the democratic decisions that are necessary to maintaining and conducting an organization.

The Administrative Committee, of course, will be governed by the constitution adopted by this Convention. But it is quite possible that the Committee will recommend that certain provisions of that Constitution be held inoperative for an unknown period of time. I suggest that you have confidence in the Administrative Committee in determining at least when we will be ready. It has been suggested that we will be ready in the spring, and I have reason to believe that we will be ready. But as to setting the time or saying it will be in the spring, I would hesitate to recommend that you be guided by any of the suggestions that have been made, except to leave the question to the Administrative Committee, with you, of course, having the right to petition to change the views of the Administrative Committee any time you care to.

I would suggest, however, that you join with the members of the Administrative Committee and hold in abeyance any campaign for office in our Union until we get these more important questions further down the road to a solution.

DELEGATE JOHNSON, Local 707: I think we agree that it will take time to get things organized, but to go back to the membership at home, I don't think it would go down as it is, because they are suspicious, anyway, and without a deadline there they can say, "well, they can perpetuate themselves in office just as long as they please." That is a fact we have to contend with.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Would you please repeat your statement.

DELEGATE JOHNSON: What it amounted to is this: I believe that a deadline is necessary for this Constitutional Convention. If it is to go on

without a definite deadline—we might be able to name, June, July or August—but if we don't have that deadline the people at home in the shops and some of the people here can say, "Well, these people can perpetuate themselves in office as long as they wish." Unions are being charged with that all over the country, and we don't want our Union open to that charge.

DELEGATE DECHANT, Local 119: I would just like to ask the Chair several questions and would also like to state my opinion. First of all, I am kind of skeptical on the way the motion was put, and maybe I can be put right. Our members are going to ask a lot of questions, they are going to say, are we going to have a dictator in the IUE? I am not accusing the Chair of being a dictator, but the way this motion is put I understand full power is given to the Administrative Committee, without any policy being set forth.

I would like to hear some sort of discussion of policy in the future before we act on the motion, so we can go back and tell our people that there will be a certain policy line carried out.

I have been associated with Jim Carey for some time and I believe in what I am saying, that we believe in democratic action, in having a democratic Union. I think we always felt in the old UE that the people should have the say in who the officers should be. I think the policy of this Convention should be that we go on record as saying in the future we will give the people the right to select their officers by a referendum vote.

In regard to our constitution and constitutional amendments. After the constitution is set up and even before it is ratified, I believe the people should have a referendum vote to ratify in effect the constitution by which they will be governed. That is my belief in a democratic organization, and I would like to state my opinion on that.

This is the question I would like to ask the Chair. The way this motion is, as I understand it, you will have full power to go ahead and run this Union for the next several months without submitting a policy to us.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: In direct reply to the question raised, the members of the Administrative Committee are not seeking to perpetuate themselves in office. In fact, what their recommendation amounts to is that they perpetuate themselves out of office, for they simply say to you that they will be governed by the policies determined by this Convention. They merely suggest to you a recommendation.

In considering the resolution now before the Convention it was necessary that you have the full information, all the information necessary to determine whether or not you desire to commend the CIO for issuing a charter covering your industry. And in order to provide the full information regarding that charter, its privileges and the recommendations of the Administrative Committee with regard to it, we placed before you the full information.

This Convention can reject the recommendation of the Administrative Committee, but as one member of that committee and its chairman, I want to advise you, first, we make as clear as we possibly can make the views of the Administrative Committee, and they are anything but undemocratic. This Committee considered whether or not we should have temporarily an organizing committee covering our industry. We considered whether or not we would accept any limitations upon our rights as an autonomous Union. That committee expressed its views in very vigorous terms. They did not think an organizing committee, even temporarily, would be as suit-

able as a free, independent, and autonomous Union, even though we were aware that there were some decisions that we could not make until we had certain conditions fulfilled within our industry. The most democratic procedure that man can imagine is recommended in this recommendation of the Administrative Committee.

As to being subjected to charges, the first statement I made was that you were going to be subjected to charges, you are going to be criticized, and if there are not good and sufficient reasons produced by your actions and the actions of your officers, giving the opportunity for charges, they will create some.

Are there any questions or further discussion?

DELEGATE BOWMAN, Local 601: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, let me say first of all I am highly in accord with what Brother Fred Kelley said on my reasons for leaving the UE, and I would like to very briefly reiterate our position of why we left the old UE and went into the new IUE. He mentioned the Daily Worker and the UE News. I don't think we need to inform them of the reasons why we left the old UE; I think they know better than we do. Certainly I think you people have all had the same experiences we had in 601.

Back in 1941 they were condemning Murray to the depths of hell, and immediately when the war came on he was a little tin god to the Communist party. And then all of a sudden when he started to make a move against them, again they started to condemn him.

You will all recall how they accused Roosevelt of being a war monger until Russia went to war. From then on it was all out, Russia was in the war. First it was, "The Yanks aren't coming," and then it was "Open a Second Front." You all remember.

Grievances of the workers in the shops were laid aside in order to promote Communism. You could pick up any issue of the UE—I almost said "Voice of the UE", which they are passing out now—you could pick up any issue of the UE News and find where they were promoting Russian foreign policy and to hell with the American foreign policy, invariably.

The point I wanted to make, and why I got up, I feel that back in our districts is the place where the people know the people in the districts. I feel a date should be set, an outside date should be set of when we in the district will elect who we want to represent us on this steering committee. Certainly we are just learning to walk, and we have to learn to walk first, but I feel we are the ones that know the people in the district and I think it is up to us to decide who we want to be our leaders, and I think a date as soon as possible should be given us back in our districts to pick the people we choose to represent us. And I would like to make a suggestion—I don't know whether an amendment would be in order or not to the motion that was made—that a date, which would be the outside date, be set that we back in our districts may choose the people who we wish to represent us on this steering committee.

DELEGATE MARY CALLAHAN, Local 105: Speaking on the resolution, I commend CIO in granting us this charter and I am proud to be a CIO member and come into the IUE.

We were known as the baby local in the old UE, and we were very proud of our position in the old UE, the old UE, before 1940. Since 1940 we have gone along the same as you people have, we didn't get any help from

the National Office; we didn't want it in the first place, and, in the second place, they wouldn't have given it. We were one of the first locals in Philadelphia to follow it through. We thought we would get our local autonomy and the things we fought for all these years.

In line with what the former delegate said, while I feel trust and implicit confidence in the Administrative Committee, and I think they should be commended for the splendid job they have done, still in order to protect the autonomy we fought for for so long, I think a deadline should be set. I think no campaign should go on in this Convention, but I don't agree that the matter should go on and on and on; I think a deadline should be set and the delegates come to an agreement as to when they want a Constitutional Convention to elect the officers they want to represent them.

DELEGATE STACKHOUSE, Local 1001: Mr. Chairman, I am speaking on the must of the resolution as I see it. It says, "That the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, vigorously endorses the actions of the recent CIO Convention." And then we go on with two other resolves. On the basis of that, as I see the situation, it means to me, with all the conversation and explanations that have been made from the stage and platform and by the various speakers, that if we adopt this resolution we are adopting the appointment of the Committee, the Operations Committee which Jimmy Carey is head of, also the provisional constitution and by-laws governing this International Union. In my opinion, the speeches that have been made previous to the motion covering the provisional constitution and by-laws and the accepting of the officers of this Operations Committee, to which we wholeheartedly give our support, is completely out of line, because we are working on the policy of the first resolution which is presented by the Resolutions Committee, and therefore I move the previous question on the resolution read by the Resolutions Committee, the first resolution.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: We have before the Convention the first resolution reported by the Resolutions Committee. It was thought wise to make known to the delegates at the Convention the actions already taken by the Administrative Committee in relation to the matters contained in this resolution. In order to clarify the question your Constitution Committee will report in detail the matters that are being discussed in relation to the time and place of a Constitutional Convention. It was a matter of making the delegates fully aware of all the pertinent facts regarding the constitution of a provisional nature that has governed our affairs to date. These matters will be discussed and debated by this Convention.

The motion is to close discussion and act now on the resolution reported by the Convention.

DELEGATE HALEY, Local 452: In the Constitution Committee we briefly touched along these lines, and unfortunately we were in session when this question came on the floor—

CHAIRMAN CAREY: (Interposing) The Chairman must call the attention of the delegate to the fact that matters under discussion in the committee are not in order before the Convention for discussion until the Committee reports.

DELEGATE HALEY: I am not discussing the action of the Committee. I was given to understand when I came on the floor that there have been statements made here that we are against electing officers in this Conven-

tion because some of the boys are not with us, they are held captive. I don't go for that. I go for the boys that have taken the beatings, and some other locals that will be with us during the course of the year, let them fight with us and take the beatings we have, and let us decide the question of electing officers here without any resolution that will forestall our efforts to do it.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Does any delegate desire to discuss the contents of the resolution presented to the Convention by the Resolutions Committee?

DELEGATE BRUNO, Local 425: Mr. Chairman, I don't care what the old UE thinks about us, and I don't care what the Daily Worker thinks, because they know perfectly well why Local 425 pulled out of the old UE.

Let us go back to 1939 when these same people were against conscription in our country; let us go back to the Convention of 1940 in Cleveland when these people on the Resolutions Committee fought against conscription—I mean those people on the Resolutions Committee at that time. Fitzgerald at that time, in 1940, was for conscription. That was before he sold out to the Communist party.

In 1941 in Camden when Fitzgerald decided to follow the Communist party line and decided to be a part of the clique in the UE, such as Matles and Emspak, then Fitzgerald was no longer for conscription and the protection of our country, but was for the policy of the Soviet Union.

We don't have to make any excuses to the Daily Worker or the UE News. Never. We have fought them down the line since we became a part of the UE. Prior to that we were an industrial local in the CIO, and under the leadership and guidance of Allan Haywood we became a part of the UE, thinking we were joining an organization that was an American organization, and immediately upon becoming a member of the old UE we found that we had become members of a party controlled by the Soviet Union. We fought these people right down the line, and we don't care what the UE or Daily Worker has to say, because we in Local 425 by a unanimous decision of our membership decided to pull out of the old UE and join the IUE.

We have no briefs. I agree with Brother Kelley that the delegates at this Convention should rise and let the old UE know why we pulled out from them. The old UE knows perfectly well. We gave them over nine years to mend their ways. We told them convention after convention unless they cleaned house and gave us the right to have a real American organization we would pull out of the UE, and we made no bones about it and it is a long dream of Local 425 finally realized that we are finally belonging now to a family of unions, of trade unions within the CIO, which is a true American trade union and not led by the Communist party.

DELEGATE HUBBS, Local 805: I am in accord with the Resolutions Committee. I think at this particular time what we need is leadership. We in our own locals are trying to get them organized, and how can we get them organized if we don't have competent leadership? And it is high time to serve notice on the Daily Worker and the Communist party or any other organization in this country that we want good, honest trade unions and no union connected with any foreign power.

I as a delegate from down in southern Indiana, although we are a small local, would like to serve notice on you delegates here today and to the Daily Worker and to the Communist party that we want no part of their isms. And I would like to tell you at this particular time some of the

things they tried to pull down in our local in Tell City. So that I may get it all in and not miss any, I would like to read to you one of the scripts, and it happens to be my own script, that was presented over the radio down there when we were trying to free ourselves from these people. This speech was given on November 11th, Armistice Day.

"Fellow GE workers of the Tell City Tube Works, I certainly thank you for the fine vote of confidence you gave Jack Hoffman and the rest of the newly elected officers of the International Union, ERMW, CIO. It goes to prove when the people are appealed to on the basis of principles and facts they are willing to prove their American fighting spirit.

"I wonder what happened to their political issue of which they accused the CIO. They surely must have forgotten about the Wallace and Fitzgerald national campaign. They call this Red-baiting. What do you think? They call it Red-baiting by stating the facts of the Un-American Activities Committee's report, where they state Sentner, Matles, and Emspak were Communist party members. Is that Red-baiting?

"They call it Red-baiting when you say they are Communist sympathizers, when who do you see them running around planning with—Bill Sentner and Jim Pane. Bill Sentner who admitted at a union meeting in Evansville, as stated by the Evansville Courier: 'That he was a Communist, and had been since 1938.' Do you call that Red-baiting? Then they talk about being loyal to the UE. My first loyalty is to my God, second to my country; and third, to my state of affairs. Can I be loyal to my God if I support a cause which believes in no God, which believes that men are tools of the state and should be ruled so? Can I be loyal to my country by supporting a cause which believes and advocates the overthrow of our Government by force and which would dominate by military rule?

"And finally, my state of affairs, which is the affairs of our daily lives. Could I be loyal to this, yours and mine, by backing a cause that eventually will enslave all labor to the will of the state, and dominate all the peoples? I wonder what they mean when they talk about being loyal to UE. Can you answer this? I can't. Is this Red-baiting? I call it facts.

"They talk about contracts. Sure we have a good contract, and we are going to keep it, if we remain democratic. But is it democratic if a few people try to throw out a president of a local elected by the people, without the vote of the people? Is it democratic when they try to elect another president to take his place by a representation of only 14 people, when we have a membership of around 800 people?

"Ask Mr. Rosenbaum, Mr. Leatherland and Mr. Burden about this.

"Is it democratic to call it unconstitutional for our President to call a special membership meeting to act on matters pertaining to their state of union affiliations, and approximately 500 or over vote unanimously to cease being dominated by this group of fellow travelers? I wonder what they mean when they talk about being democratic. Can you answer this? I can't. Ask them.

"They held a meeting and tried to elect a president with 14 people being present, and called this constitutional. Yet the duly elected President held a special meeting with a representation of 500 people, and they call it unconstitutional. I'm mixed up on this. I don't know what 'constitutional' means. Do you? Ask them.

"No, my fellow employes, I will never go along with such rule. And I am sure you won't, either.

"Talk about a rump outfit, which Mr. Geene talked about. What do you think of this? We had some friends who came up from Evansville to see what we thought about this Bill Sentner and Logston gang. And they found out. We thought about as much about this rump outfit as they did. They say they are not fellow travelers, but who did some of our people see them traveling around with? Bill Sentner and Jim Payne. The last time Jim Payne was in town he pulled the people out on strike and I, a member, was ruled out of order for trying to pass a motion on the floor to avoid this strike. This time he came to town, he and Mr. Sentner had his followers, or stooges, to take all the local's books and records out of the union hall, your records, and change the locks on the door. I wonder what he will have them do next. Is this the kind of people you want to run your union? They will call this Red-baiting. Ask them if it is not so. I wonder what they will tell you.

"Mrs. Rosenbaum claims some of the girls in her department are mad. What does she think about some of the other people out here. These men of the Sentner gang used to be nice fellows. But it goes to show the mess you can get into dealing with an outfit like they are tied up with. I do not like to blast or scandalize anyone, it is against the principles I believe in, but the facts remain, and in all honesty should be told. Someone's face is sure going to be red when they hear one of these days that the General Electric Company recognizes the right wing CIO as the people's bargaining agent, and it will happen just as sure as the sun rises in the East and sets in the West, if we stick together and pull together as you demonstrated at the last meeting Wednesday. The fight is not near over; it has just begun. We have them on the run; let's keep them running. Don't let some of their troublemakers lead us off the track by causing people in the plant to be dissatisfied and have them ask for things they know the company won't grant. They are going to try to cause some innocent people to be fined, to try to bring prestige for themselves. Don't let them fool you. Use your head. Jack Hoffman and the rest of us will carry on if you the people will back us up. It is up to you. And if we ever go to such tactics as this please give us the same medicine, for we will sure deserve it. Let's stick together in unity, for in unity there is strength—united we stand, divided we fall."

These are facts; this is the kind of fellows they have had down in southern Indiana, and I tell you here today I don't like it and I know our local don't like it. We have at this particular time 765 people signed up in the IUE out of a membership of approximately 800, and I think it is high time the delegates here today get behind these people on the platform who know what is going on and help them and help ourselves organize our own locals and get out of this dominated Red outfit. And that is what we in southern Indiana think about it.

Thank you.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Are you ready to vote?

A DELEGATE: Is this discussion on our past connection with the UE, that we all know, or is it on the resolution?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I will call upon the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee to read the resolution.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN KELLEY: Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: I am of the opinion we have gone a little bit astray. I think we should confine ourselves to this resolution, and it is as follows:

Resolution No. 1

CIO POLICY

WHEREAS, the recent Eleventh Constitutional Convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations adopted sound policies which mean the end of a Communist domination of decent trade unions in America, and

WHEREAS, the CIO has barred Communists, fascists or other totalitarianists and their sympathizers from being officers or holding positions on the Executive Board of that great organization, and

WHEREAS, the CIO has set up machinery to expel any unions which put the Communist party above the interests of the working class.

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED,

That the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, vigorously endorses the actions of the recent CIO Convention, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED,

That the IUE-CIO pledges it will work for the implementation of CIO policy through its own Union, through Industrial Union Councils, through the use of CIO services, such as "Community Service Committees" and through carrying its message directly to the people, and by the further

RESOLUTION

That this Organizational Convention of the IUE-CIO appreciates the grant of a Charter by the CIO and an opportunity to give thousands of workers in the electrical, radio and machine industries a chance to be represented by a progressive, decent American trade union.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: All those in favor of the Committee's recommendation will signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.

The ayes appear to have it, the ayes have it and it is so ordered.

DELEGATE MORTON, Local 524: A point of privilege.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: What is your point of privilege?

DELEGATE MORTON: I would appreciate it if you would cast your eyes around the hall and see the hands up, because I had my hand up when there was no other person in the hall with his hand up, at the beginning of this debate. I have had it up since and I have not been recognized.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair will overrule the Convention's wishes and recognize the delegate at this time to express his view on the resolution.

DELEGATE MORTON, Local 524: Thanks, Jim.

Mr. Chairman and delegates, I would like to rise in support of this resolution, and in doing so I think it is the first resolution I ever listened to at a UE Convention that I didn't have to spend 10 or 15 minutes trying to figure out what Commie angle was behind the thing.

I know one of the problems that the democratic forces in trade unions face is that they are doing their best when they are building progressively. This type of resolution is the type that the Commies like, because they can get up and they can be the sounding board for their officers and continually clap each other on the back and almost break their elbows. That is why most of our delegates were probably a little reluctant to take the floor, because most of us are in sympathy with each other.

But there is no question in anybody's mind why we support this reso-

lution. The whole text of the resolution says once again that we are free people. I know as far as I am concerned I believe that up until the CIO Convention we were living in a free country, but we were by no means free. The very fact that we were members of the UE meant that people were suspicious of us, and even our own friends until lately had little doubt in their own minds as to just where we were and what we stood for.

I recall when we went to the Cleveland Convention that I had to approach the American immigration authorities about three weeks before we came across the border. We had to sign forms and we had to go through a certain amount of investigation to make sure that we were trade unionists and not members of the Communist party.

The first time I made up my mind I was coming to this Convention was last Sunday, and consequently we were not able to approach the American immigration authorities for the necessary papers. But that was the first indication that once again we are free people in a free land, because I landed in Toronto on Monday. I told the American immigration officials I was leaving on the plane in a half hour, that I wanted to get into the United States to attend the Convention, and that I didn't have time to get any papers, and I asked if I would be stopped. They told me there in Toronto that as far as they were concerned they were not interested in fighting trade unionism, they were just interested in keeping their country clean of the Communist party. They told me they could not imagine any problem I might have. We landed in Buffalo and they immediately asked us where we were going. I made the mistake of frankly saying that I was going to the United Electrical Workers Convention. I could see the customs official freeze up; I could see the icicles hanging out of his eyes, and I thought, "Brother, this is it." So I hurriedly said, "I am sorry, I belong to the IUE, the new electrical union in the CIO." We became friends in a matter of seconds, and I had absolutely no trouble at all. He said, "As far as we are concerned you are quite free to go," which means that we are recognized, not for a Communist party dominated organization, but we are recognized as a trade union organization, and I think this should break down the barriers of the Communist wailings that they are only stopping trade unionists. I am sure that man had no idea who I was, but the fact that I was going to the IUE-CIO Convention was my passport into this country. The brother from Brockville, which is in Ontario, had the same experience. When he told the immigration officials where he was going he got a clap on the back and was told, "Good luck, boys, keep up the good work."

That is why we are here today, that is why we support this resolution, because of the fact that we can once again claim that we are free people. I say the Daily Worker probably likes to hear its friends in the Commie organization get up and clap each other on the back on things that have happened—usually things that have happened through the work of another union on which they have capitalized, and we are probably a little backward in taking praise for what we have done or to give the reasons for what we have done, because we are based as builders, and that's the way we want to be.

I say again, I rise in full support of this resolution.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: All those in favor of the Committee's recommendation please rise to your feet. Those opposed.

Delegate Haley the lone dissenter.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: One of the marks of progress of the labor movement is the number and kind of friends we have working with us and engaging in important activities and in serving the interests of humanity. We have as our guest on this platform today an outstanding friend of the labor movement, who has repeatedly manifested his deep interest in the problems of the working people who have made the major contribution in building America to its present position of leadership in world affairs.

This man started his legal career in 1901. Now and again in the 32 years that followed he loaned his great knowledge and ability to the Federal Government. During all that long period he saw develop new alliances and new combinations of political, military, and economic aggressor groups. During the depression of 1929, as well as throughout World War I, he made his contribution toward making our Union the great Union that it is, a leading Union in the world.

When President Roosevelt in 1933 required the services of a compliance director of the National Recovery Administration, President Roosevelt called upon this guest of ours. He served as a member of the Federal Commission of Industrial Analysis and as a member of the Emergency Board under the Railway Act. He likewise served as Chairman of the New York State Mediation Board. He was called upon repeatedly by President Roosevelt to take on new assignments. He went abroad in 1938 to study industrial relations in Europe. Later he became Chairman of the National Defense Mediation Board, and Chairman of the National War Labor Board, where I had the great personal pleasure of working with him. I would like to say at this stage that I believe William H. Davis has made his great contribution to the labor movement, when he is called upon and invited to address this Convention, not only for his past services but the opportunity he has to assist us today in giving us the benefit of his advice and council. I hope and pray that he will live a long life in continuing the great work he has been carrying on for so many years.

So I present to this Convention a friend of the CIO, a friend of all labor organizations, a friend of Phil Murray, Jim Carey, Emil Rieve, and all the officers of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. It is with great pleasure that I present to you, after having made Bill Davis a distinguished guest of our Convention, an active champion in the fight that we have before us—Bill Davis.

HONORABLE WILLIAM H. DAVIS

Former Chairman, War Labor Board

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the IUE-CIO—It is always a pleasure to me to speak to leaders of labor. It is always a pleasure to work with your chairman, Mr. Carey. I was puzzled a little to know why he asked me to address the Convention, interested as I am in it, because, after all, I am an amateur in labor relations. I think the reason Jim asked me was that he was one of my principal teachers. What I know about labor relations I learned in substantial part from him, and being at least a conscientious student, when the teacher asked me to come down here I had to say yes.

But, as a matter of fact, I would rather talk to this gathering than to any other meeting of labor leaders I could talk to—and I am not saying that by way of flattery. After all, I am invited here, so to speak, at the

christening of the IUE-CIO, not to praise you, although I have very good reasons for this preference, as I think you will gather as I go on.

The fact of the matter is that we in this country are engaged in a crucial enterprise. I don't like to call it a battle, because I am not particularly fond of the lingo of warfare. But we are at a critical moment in a critical adventure. We happen to be the only country in the world that is strong enough to carry the burden that has to be carried in the world, and you people, at this crucial moment, have taken a step affecting very vitally, I think, the very crux of our problem. That is, you have by democratic, voluntary self-government excluded from your councils the totalitarian methods of the Communists in favor of the democratic methods of American labor. You have pioneered in that, and I think it will long be remembered. I have no doubt in my mind about the outcome.

But throwing out the Commies, ladies and gentlemen, is only the first step. There remains a great deal to be done, and in that I think that your organization and your rank and file are in a position to play a very significant part.

What I wanted to do today was to try to give you some of my thoughts on this important matter and the relation of IUE and its rank and file to that matter. The fact is that we have a great responsibility and a tremendous opportunity, and things have changed—things have changed in science, in the application of science to our human purposes, and nobody knows that any better than the rank and file of the electrical workers in America.

We have also changed in the possibilities of democracy. What I mean by that is that we are now confronted by a conflict, an ideological conflict very sharply drawn and very sharply underscoring the essential differences between totalitarianism and democracy. There was a period in my lifetime when I and lots of other people felt that the principles of our democracy had either been forgotten in many places or had become tangled up in what we felt for many years was a very popular occupation of deflating ideology. We heard talk about the democratic dictum and its deterioration. Well, we don't hear that any more and we are not going to hear it for some time to come. Whatever may be said about democracy in this country and abroad, it will not be said that it is deteriorating or not worth while. The issue is too sharply drawn, it is a matter of life and death.

Now, as I try to look forward into the crystal ball it seems to me that this issue is clear, that in this great adventure before us we have to unite the powers of science and democracy. We can take courage, if we are inclined to lose courage, from what we did in the second world war. Some people thought that democracy was weak and ineffective, that as a matter of production or accomplishment of a common purpose democracy was to lose, that you had to have a dictator, orders from above. Well, the effort in this country—and I may say all the electrical workers in this country during the war—buried that idea. It was demonstrated that a democracy was the most highly effective instrument of accomplishment that the world had ever seen. We need not worry about that. But we have ahead of us, nevertheless, this great problem, and there is no use of us shutting our eyes to the fact that it has two aspects. One of them is an aspect of war. We talk every day about a cold war and we worry about whether it will become a hot war. I am almost disposed to say that the cold war in some ways is

just as nerve-wracking as the hot war—maybe not. But at any rate we have that aspect—the war aspect, self-defense. Then we have the other and closely related aspect, and that is to make our system work for its intended purpose. That is for the progress of the individual in society.

Let me point that up a little. In wartime I am the most peaceful of men. I would much prefer that we did not have to think about or spend any money on warfare, but we do. Everybody in the world who really thinks about it knows that the attitude of this country is not an aggressive one. We never have learned really how to be aggressive. Perhaps there are too many aggressors among us individually, and we aggress against one another so much that we never think of aggressing anyone outside. But anyway, we are not aggressive, we are interested in self-defense. We will confine ourselves to repelling the aggressor. But when we do that we have to do it powerfully and intelligently. I think we must be constantly prepared with a retaliatory striking force in any war, we must protect it, because of the very nature of our warfare. You must have that force now and give us time to work out a perfect defense.

I am not a military expert, but I venture to say that from what I know that in the three branches of warfare, the air service, the underseas, and on the surface, the instruments of defense are at the moment adequate to bring about a stalemate, at any rate. I don't know whether they are in the war or not. I think the best thing that could happen to this country would be if we could develop a defense to the airplane that would take the heavy bombers out of the air forever. That may be possible. We have the guided missiles, we have proximity fuses and radar—and you electrical workers know about those things. They may offer a defense that will put an end to mass bomber raids. I hope so.

Under water we are in a perilous position, I am told. We don't know the answer as to the new submarine. We must find an answer before war comes and we must then put up as much money as is necessary to do that. And there again the electrical workers will be called on.

But in addition to that—in fact, as a part of that, we must develop, maintain, and strengthen our democratic system. Don't let anybody tell you ladies and gentlemen that this country cannot afford to defend itself, because it can. Don't let anyone tell you that we cannot carry the burden of defending ourselves and also improving our social standards, because we can if we make up our minds to it.

And that is the second half of my topic—the development of this society of ours for the benefit of our people. I am very fond of a remark made by Dr. Einstein, in which he said that the goal of democracy,—and indeed he said the goal of the Judean Christian religion is the free and self-directed development of the individual—the free and self-directed development of the individual until he is spontaneously and with self-satisfaction puts his services, his energies at the service of the community. That is a perfect definition of good labor relations—the free and self-directed development of workers' and managements' individuals until they freely put their energies at the services of the common good. Well, that is not so easy to do, because, like all the important things of life in my experience, it is a matter of balancing one thing against another. For some reason or other the Lord created things so that to really achieve a worthwhile purpose is always something like trying to drive a light car on a slippery road that has considerable crowning.

It is hard to keep to the crown of the road and you are always slipping into the ditch if you don't look out. But that middle road is the path of progress, and particularly in a democracy.

As I go on from here, ladies and gentlemen, I really am venturing into things which a lot of people here in the hall know much more about than I do. But after all, Mr. Carey asked me to come here and you have to put up with me.

I have asked myself what are the basic principles of this thing we call democracy as they are applied to such an organization as this? What are we talking about? Well, the French at the time of the French Revolution and after our Revolution expressed themselves very beautifully, and they got up what has been called the trilogy,—liberty, equality, and fraternity. I have always felt that here in America, although we accept that trilogy all right, we give a little more dynamic twist to it and we are not quite so much trying to abstract ideas as the French, but more the practical things. So when I think of liberty, equality and fraternity in America I like to think of freedom, self-reliance and agreement. Those are more dynamic words. Liberty is one thing. Freedom is liberty in action. Equality is one thing, but self-reliance is good enough for us if we can maintain equality of opportunity. When we talk about equality in this country what we really want is not that all individuals should be made equal by some exterior force, but that every individual should have the same opportunity to develop his own self-reliance as any other. And so when we talk of brotherhood and fraternity we do not mean just getting together and passing resolutions or patting one another on the back and thinking in our hearts, well, wait until we get out of the meeting, and what we will do to that guy! We mean agreement—that is what we mean by brotherhood and fraternity.

Let me speak of those three things, one after the other. Freedom is a very dangerous thing, in fact, the very crux of the Russian government's ideology, if you boil it down at the moment, is that freedom is so painful a thing that it ought not be imposed on the body of the citizens, they ought not to be made to suffer the pangs of freedom, that the Government will come in, or the Party, and in a self-sacrificing manner will accept the sufferings of freedom itself and tell the masses of the people what to do, so that they won't suffer the pangs of freedom. And there is great reality in that concept. Freedom is a painful thing, and it, too, has got to be run on the crown of the road.

With freedom goes responsibility. We are talking about individual freedom. All right, you can't have your freedom unless the other fellow has his freedom, and therefore without responsibility.

Then we have learned that for freedom you have to have knowledge, you have to know what the thing is all about. That is one of our fundamental teachings in this country—of Jefferson, public schools, knowledge. And we know that Solomon was right when he said, "Knowledge is a wonderful thing; therefore, get knowledge, but with all thy gettings get understanding." Because we know that for freedom you have got to understand, and particularly to understand the other fellow's point of view. We had this experience in the War Labor Board, and I will use it, if I may, to illustrate what I am thinking about as the difficulties of freedom. We had a war going on, and the emergency was such that somebody had to be given more power than was good for anybody to have in a democracy, and that power was eventually

given to the War Labor Board by an Act of Congress. We kind of built it up by presidential action before Congress acted, and we did have power which I hope no one will ever have again in this country.

But if there is anything that gives me satisfaction as I look backward, it is the fact that the War Labor Board succeeded in preserving to the greatest possible extent the values of voluntary agreement. The people did not realize that unless they sat on the Board. The fact was that Board members could make a decision that everybody had to take. But we sat there hour after hour, day after day, arguing the thing out, trying to find an agreement, and some of the most extraordinary things happened. Agreements were reached out of discussions after we had almost given up hope over and over again, and there was in that an element, a diluted element of voluntarism, because on the War Labor Board, which was a tri-partite board, the labor side or the industry side could always walk out. The labor side have walked out, and the National Defense Mediation Board and all of us who were carried over from the Mediation Board to the War Labor Board remember that very well. And often, ladies and gentlemen, the public members on that Board were facing a decision, and they would say to themselves, now we think this is the decision we ought to make, but will the boys come back the next morning if we make it? And more than once that was the question: If the labor members or the industry members, whichever it was, came back the next day, that was in a certain sense an acquiescence, a voluntary acquiescence in the actions of the Board, and we did our best to maintain that.

But my point here is that even so it was greatly inferior to self-government. If you have gun metal control of the actions of free men you are always, if you will, using force to control the actions of free men, you are admitting failure in the social structure every time without exception.

And so what you people need as you go forward in this enterprise—and you are going to be right in the middle of it—is to maintain your self control sufficiently to avoid the necessity for any other control. And that is a responsibility which you share with the employers' side, too.

Now, let me turn to self-reliance, what we mean by that. We all know individuals who are so very, very self-reliant that they are a nuisance, trouble makers. We in this country have been gifted from the beginning, perhaps, because of our origin, with a certain mutuality of self-reliance. We mean in practice in self-reliance what Mr. Ralph Barton Perry calls collective individualism. They would rather say, not I can do so and so, but we can do. It is characteristic of the American people and they need to hold onto it and not let it be submerged in any so-called regimentation or overlordship overpowering of the Government or anybody else. We need individual strength, but we also need this collective individualism.

You take in union-management relations—there is nothing that hampers management any more than a weak union, and there is nothing that hampers a union any more than a weak management. You people in your industries have had a great deal of experience, I know, with large enterprises, and I think I can say from what I know that in the electrical industry there is no remedy or the desire to do away with unionism, or if there is, it is so small you need not give it any account. That is not your problem, and your employers will recognize the union. But the real question is, will they help build it up? Do they know that a strong union is better than a weak union, and do you know that a strong management is better than a weak one? I

never had any contact with a union man who could not respect a management that was definite, courageous, and firm on those points where it made itself clear.

In the IUE, both on the management and labor side, you are pretty well advanced, and your problem is to build the Union into the plant organization as an integral part of the structure and as a freely-open channel of communication up and down, so that the Union can convey to the rank and file the ideas and desires of the management that have been accepted by the Union, and so that they can convey to the management the desires and ideas of the rank and file.

Now the third great influence for maturity—and what I look forward to is the IUE-CIO as a fine example of a mature Union in a critically important industry, I think that is within your reach—for maturity you need not only knowledge and responsibility, but you need communication, and I would put up as one of the basic goals of your Union in its local operations, and, in fact, in its national operations, the deliberate building in of the Union into the structure of the plant organization as a two-way communication channel. If you do that with confidence, sincerity, and good faith management cannot but go along with you, and if they display good faith, intelligence, so that you respect them and they respect you, you can do that.

One of the first things you find in labor disputes, in my judgment and from my experience, you come to questions of fact. We had a remark on the War Labor Board and it turned out to be pretty useful. I said that gentlemen can't really disagree about a fact, they can only be ignorant about it. If you and I disagree or you and the management disagree today about what the facts are in the situation it must really be because you don't know all the facts, or either you or they or both don't know what the facts are, and the first job is to find out what the facts are, and then you can't disagree about them any more.

This is also true in the experience of all of us who have had experience as mediators, that where sincere men who respect one another sit down around the table and try to find out what the facts are, they not only succeed, but the going through the process brings them together and they find themselves in agreement not only about the fact, but about their mutual purposes and desires. We have seen that happen over and over again.

So I want to give you this picture, if I may preach—and the American people love to be preached to—they have ever since Emerson's day. It doesn't cost anything, so if I am preaching I say I look forward to seeing the Locals of the IUE-CIO an integral part of their plants, acting sincerely and with responsibility as a two-way channel of communication. And to do that, I am sure you all know that you need to entrust responsibility to the Local officers. If you achieve that, then you have your conference, and what do we do? Human affairs are complicated, they are always regulated by custom or agreement, really mostly by custom. But we draw contracts in the field of labor and management. However, it is the interpretation and the day-by-day application of that contract that really spells the difference between good relations and bad relations in the plants, and that is up to you gentlemen, your Local officers more than anyone else.

Above the Local level, of course, the most important thing is a mature, responsible leadership. Well, I have had enough contact with the officers of the IUE and with the history of the electrical workers to feel quite comfort-

able on that subject, and I am sure you have mature men in the leadership.

But I point out that in the plant operations, too, the in-plant end of the game, you are also traveling on a slippery road that is crowned, and you have to be careful drivers. Wherever you are dealing with human relations you have to keep your hand on the wheel all the time and keep awake.

Now, although good in-plant operations and relations are an indispensable necessity—that is, actual labor relations have two aspects, as I have always seen it. One of them is as a tool of production and the other is quite different, but just as important, and that is as a linkage to society. An individual in an industrialized society ought to have a chance to express his individuality, to gain a feeling of confidence and self-respect and feel that they belong, and they can only do that through the Union. And so that linkage to society as a whole is tremendously important.

Suppose you have good in-plant relations. The other subject I wanted to touch on may surprise you if I say it is not an in-plant relation, and that is wages. What I mean by that, ladies and gentlemen, is that it has become so clear in my time that the subject of wages, which is the subject of how you divide the total production, important as it is in the plant, it is not properly thought of as an in-plant relationship, because it immediately projects itself into the economy of the country as a whole. I can't emphasize that too much. You may like it or you may dislike it. You may think that General Electric, for some reason or other—and I will take that as an example—ought to have better wages, even better than anyone else in the world, or whatever you may want. The fact is that your wage agreements project themselves into the total economy, and that is what we have seen so clearly since 1946. That was the trouble in 1946.

We haven't begun to solve that problem. Industry shies away from industry-wide bargaining except in the coal business, you see, where Mr. Lewis tried to divide and conquer. Then industry was in favor of industry-wide bargaining. But that's the way it goes. This problem of how to divide the total product is nowhere near a solution. And let me say this about it, that I have no solution for it. But I do know this, and I think it is important to IUE-CIO, that it is not a subject to get hot under the collar about. It cannot be solved by heat, but only by light.

The fact of the matter is, whether you like it or not or whether management likes it or not, there is a division of the total production that is the best division to keep the machine running in high gear. When I say to keep the machine running in high gear. I mean to make the maximum use of the available resources in manpower and spirit of the workers and the management. There is some division, and that has been proved over the last thirty years, over and over again. That is a good residue we have got now of the economic history of this country since 1947, that you must find this proper division. Nobody is going to hand it to you on a platter. You can't find it except by experimentation. But the point I want to make to you ladies and gentlemen is that the IUE should be constantly looking for it. If the division is such that too much of it goes in one direction—and we have seen this happen in this country over and over again—it is like the fall of running water, if some of it is diverted into a still pond, too much of it, the water becomes stagnant, it becomes poisonous, it becomes infected and stops the flow of the stream. We have seen that in this country. I don't think we will ever go through it again in the sense that we did in the late 20's and 30's.

I don't think we have to, because we know enough about it not to do it. But we don't know all about it, by any means.

On the question of pensions, from the standpoint of an onlooker, and I am only an onlooker,—every time this subject comes up there is a certain class of people on the right who feel insulted to think that the working man wants more money. He gets mad right away. There are certain people on the other end of the stick who get mad if anybody says you are getting money enough.

The fact of the matter is that neither one of these people know anything about it. Both of them are blind with hatred or fear and they can't see straight, and they are not going to help. It is the people toward the middle who are calm and cool enough to look the facts in the face and to state the facts, try to solve this problem of economic doubt. It is a very difficult problem, and the labor unions in America—I say this after full consideration, and I think I know what I am talking about—the labor unions in America are going to have to be the leaders in that search, and they are going to have to be the leaders in that search. They can get help from management if they go about it. They can get help from the economists if they pick the right ones, and not the hired boys of the Right Wingers, and if they have their own economists who are not merely the hired boys of the Left Wingers.

I was reading a book of Moulton's the other day, of the Brookings Institution, and he tries to look forward a hundred years and says incidentally that our resources are ample to multiply the standard of living of the people of America eight times in the next hundred years; incidentally, to multiply their food sixteen times, their clothing twenty times, their leisure thirty times. We have the resources if we have the will, he says, if we are able to travel on this crowned and slippery road. And he says—and I think he is a hundred percent right—that it will not be possible for government to do it alone, that it has to be done by the people themselves, by the interested power groups.

Now what has happened in this country is this: Between these resources which we have demonstrated in time of war we can produce all we need—and we all know it—between that and the proper distribution, and when I say proper I am talking about that distribution which will maintain full employment and make full uses of our resources—between those two things stand these great organizations of labor, organizations of farmers, organizations of business, and the consumer. But these organizations come into being, in a sense, for selfish purposes. That is the only reason we combine with one another, is for selfish purposes. It may be to help ourselves or it may be to help one another, but it is for help that we combine.

So of course these different groups had different ideas about what share they ought to have. But they have got to find out, and as Mr. Moulton says, nobody that is ever going down to Washington, no employee of the Government is going to be smart enough to tell them how to do it, they have to find it out by experiment. If I could tell you people what I know about the limitations of government on the economic field, you would easily be convinced that government is not going to be able to do it, that only the people in a democracy can do it, and then only by experiment. So Mr. Moulton and others have reached a get-together on the subject. We have set up in the Full Employment Act this agency advising the President on economic matters. It is an excellent set-up and it has its counterpart in the committee on Con-

gress which is now beginning to do some real work for the first time. They are really looking into the question. They deserve our help and our support. This is fact-finding that they are doing, putting the facts together. Everybody ought to help.

But ultimately, in my judgment, the solution will not be found except by a continued series of experiments that originate around the conference table. You are going to have to have the farm groups, the labor groups, the management groups, the public, or the economists sitting around the table deciding how far they can agree with one another and on what points they disagree, and then proceeding to make experimentations in the field about which they do not know anything yet or do not know enough. That is the process of science. Until we apply the processes of science to this problem of distribution of the world's goods and apply it through the democratic process of agreement, we never will succeed—and I emphasize agreement.

All those who were on the War Labor Board know my slogan. I got it from Mr. Clayton: "Creation is the product of persuasion," and I have often said it is a very hard rule of life, and we found it particularly hard sometimes on the War Labor Board—when we could not persuade we had to act.

I will finish up by telling a story. That slogan was heard so much that the boys on the Board, the irreverent young fellows were making fun of me all the time saying, "The Old Man is going around with this slogan, 'Creation is the product of persuasion'." And so I finally had to say, "Well, boys, you have driven me to the wall; my hands are up and I will have to modify Mr. Plato's aphorism, from experience on the War Labor Board. I will say that creation is the product of persuasion except in cases of rape," and I still say that what we want to avoid in this seeking for this proper division that will keep us all humming is the use of force. We need to try experiment, experiment, experiment until we find out.

Thank you very much, ladies and gentlemen, for listening to me.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Thanks, Bill.

If it is the pleasure of the Convention, we will recess at this time and meet promptly at 2 o'clock, and at 2 o'clock promptly the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee will present resolutions to the Convention.

This afternoon our Convention session will be from 2 o'clock until 5:30 in order to complete the work that we will have before us this afternoon.

If there is no objection, we will declare this session recessed until 2 p.m.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 o'clock p.m. the Convention stood recessed until 2 o'clock p.m.)

SECOND DAY—TUESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention was called to order by Chairman Carey at 2:20 o'clock p.m.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, Fred Kelley.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN KELLEY: Mr. Chairman, the following resolution deals with the Taft-Hartley and other anti-labor laws.

Resolution No. 2

TAFT-HARTLEY AND ANTI-LABOR LAWS

For two and a half years the workers of America have been hampered by the reactionary provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law. Many legitimate functions of unions have been curtailed and the emphasis has been all on the employer's side. We, of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO point with disgust at the use of the Taft-Hartley Law by the Communist-dominated UE in an attempt to thwart the will of the rank and file. While the Taft-Hartley Law has harmed us nationally, carbon copy action by many State Legislatures resulted in even worse conditions being imposed upon us in local communities. We note with satisfaction that the liberal victory in the 1948 national elections has caused many State legislatures to remedy the damages of Taft-Hartleyism.

We are proud of the work the CIO, and the groups loyal to it, did to increase the national minimum wage from 40 to 75 cents an hour. We hope that the next session of Congress will recognize that there are many other features of the law that must be changed and that the minimum wage must be raised to at least a dollar an hour. We also want the coverage of the Walsh-Healey Act strengthened. We deplore the revival of government by injunction which was brought on us by the Taft-Hartley Law. The lobbying between leaders of the outcast UE on Capitol Hill in Washington has been harmful to the cause of those who want all Taft-Hartleyism wiped off the statute books. The defiance of CIO policy by UE during the Congressional fight over repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law is definite proof that UE put loyalty to the Communist Party even above its stated desires that it wanted the Taft-Hartley Law repealed. With UE banished from the labor movement, we pledge all our resources to join the rest of CIO and bring about the end of the Taft-Hartley Law.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN KELLEY: Mr. Chairman, the Resolutions Committee moves for the adoption of this resolution.

. . . The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE KELLY, Local 113: Mr. Chairman, as a point of information, are there going to be any more resolutions along political action lines that would set up some sort of a machinery so this organization will participate in political action in order to carry through the mechanism for which this resolution is put forth?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The answer is yes. The Committee has under consideration its legislative and political action resolution.

. . . The recommendation of the Committee was carried unanimously.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: At this time I would like to present to the Convention one of the great officers of the mighty CIO. Emil Rieve is known to the workers in the city of Philadelphia; he is known to the workers in the Southern States of our Union, and in fact he is known to workers everywhere.

He is an able champion of the things we believe in. He is a great champion and advocate of our cause.

I present to the Convention one of the original staunch defenders of a free and independent and autonomous labor movement without the influence or domination of the Communist party. Emil Rieve defended those principles when it was less fashionable to express openly views of that nature.

I take great pleasure and joy in presenting to this Convention the Presi-

dent of the Textile Workers Union of America and Vice President of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, Emil Rieve. (Applause.)

EMIL RIEVE

President, Textile Workers Union of America

Mr. Chairman and delegates to this Convention, I am of course more than pleased to have the opportunity to participate in this gathering. Just about ten years ago my own organization was born in this city, just a few blocks south of here.

I want at the very start to take the opportunity to congratulate you upon the break that you have made with the old UE. I have been one of those who had never believed that it would be possible to capture the mechanism of the old UE. I have been one of those who believed that the so-called Communist elements have been so entrenched that even if you had the majority you could not win in that set-up. So I was more than pleased when the dice were finally cast and that this new International Union came into being. And in behalf of my own organization, the Textile Workers Union of America, I want to express to you in their behalf our congratulations and our support and assistance, whatever that may mean.

I want also, however, to caution you of not being misunderstood. In Cleveland some three weeks ago the CIO made a start of cleaning house, and all the newspapers throughout the country have been rejoicing at the fact that the CIO threw out the left wing. CIO did nothing of the kind. CIO did not throw out the left wing. What they did do, they threw out the east wing. They threw out that wing that always looks to Moscow for whatever they are permitted to do.

The CIO did not throw out the radicals; it threw out the worst bunch of reactionaries that ever afflicted the trade union movement of this country.

We, of course, must serve notice on the country that because we have thrown out certain elements from our midst that we are gonig to be good. We must of course be cautious that we are not being misunderstood, that we are ready to make application to join the United States Chamber of Commerce or the Manufacturers Association.

We have thrown out those people who believe in the USSR, and we want to build a labor movement that believes in the USA. We do believe that our country is the greatest country on the face of this earth. But having said that, it does not mean that our country is perfect in every respect. We possess the greatest productive capacity of any people, and there is no need of having anyone that is willing and able to work to be out of employment. It is estimated today that there are about three and a half million people unemployed. I happen to be the Administrative Chairman of the CIO Full Employment Committee, and as such it is my privilege to rub elbows with quite a number of economists in and out of Government, also with the Economic Advisers to the President. You know that in the closing days of the last World War President Roosevelt proposed to the United States Congress that Congress adopt a law by which each year we would estimate how many jobs private industry can provide, and then the Government fill in the gap. Of course that law did not pass. Congress substituted another and an abortive law in its stead so that the present full employment law places no obligation on Congress other than the President is instructed to advise Congress on the economic state of the Union, including employment.

Some economists say 5 percent, some of them say 3 percent, some of them say even 1 percent, that it is good for our Nation to have that many unemployed; and when you get into any kind of a discussion on that subject these economists like to nail you down, what is your opinion? "What percentage of unemployed is good for our country to have?" I never permit myself to get swayed by that type of an argument, whether 5 percent, 2 percent, or 1 percent—yes, even one half of 1 percent. It may well be, as some of the economists say, it is good for the country, but I for one wouldn't want to be among that one-half of 1 percent, and my position is simply that our economy ought to be so organized that every able-bodied man and woman willing and able to work ought to have an opportunity to find employment.

Yes, a good many people say that one way to solve our unemployment problem or keep the wheels of our industry going is to have less women in America's industrial life. Are these poor people, intelligent women, working today just because they love to get up at 6 o'clock in the morning and report to work at 7 or 8? Most of them work because they have to work, and even those whose husbands may have jobs and whose husbands are able to earn a reasonable salary that would permit the families to live, they still want to work because they want to contribute something to the family income so that the family can live on a little higher standard. They want to enjoy some of the gadgets that you people for instance in the electrical industry, make; they want to enjoy the washing machines, and the radios, and the refrigerators and some of the other necessities of life that they could not enjoy if they only depended on the income of the husband.

Just here about two weeks ago a joint Senate and House Committee gave us a startling report. It gave us a report which says that about 4,000,000 families in this country had cash income in 1948 under \$1,000 per year, and that there was another 6,000,000 families whose income ran between a thousand and two thousand dollars per year; that in addition there were about 6,000,000 individuals, who are no part of any family grouping, that are in the same boat. In other words, nearly one-third of all Americans earn under \$2,000 a year.

The Committee called this the great undeveloped frontier for American business. Just imagine, you people in the electrical industry, if one-quarter of our population could double their income what that would mean to your industry. Just imagine how many more refrigerators, radios, television sets, and what have you, your industry would have to produce in order to fill the needs of those people.

But that is not all. We have to clean up this type of an economic slump for our own sake and for our country's sake. That is another part of our job.

Now you have noticed that up until now I have talked about a better life for those employed at average pay. I was talking, frankly, about the program of the New Deal and the Fair Deal. And now we have new names for it. We call it Statism and we call it the Welfare State. I for one want to go on record right now that I am for the Welfare State. I do not want to return to the Coolidge and Hoover way of life.

Our opponents, all they are talking about is cutting down governmental expenditures and balancing the budget. Now let us face the facts as far as our budget is concerned. It is estimated we are going to have in the fiscal year 1949 a five and a half billion dollar deficit. It is estimated the income from taxes and other governmental income would run around thirty-eight

billion dollars, and the expenditures are going to be around forty-two or forty-three and a half billion dollars. A lot of newspapers, politicians, and many economists are talking about balancing that budget. Let us look at the facts and see what they mean when they talk about balancing the budget. Thirteen billion dollars we are spending today on national defense. I haven't heard these great economizers say anything about cutting down anything on that expenditure. Another six or seven billion dollars we are spending on interest on government debt; that is, on bonds and other outstanding governmental indebtedness. I haven't heard anyone raise the question that maybe the Government should declare a moratorium on those interests and thus save six or seven billion dollars. Then we have another six or seven billion dollars that we are spending on all types of veterans' benefits, and I haven't heard anyone suggest that those benefits ought to be cut down.

So after you dispose of all these fixed charges upon the Government you have about \$9,000,000,000 left to run the Government, including the welfare of the American people. So when they talk about balancing the budget and saving about five and a half billion dollars, what they actually mean is that out of that eight or nine billion dollars half of it be cut out. That means your whole scheme of social insurance, your whole other welfare schemes ought to be cut out or drastically reduced.

I am not one of those who is so afraid because a government may have a little indebtedness at one time or another. I am rather one of those who believes we ought to strive to increase our national income. You know President Truman said a short while ago we ought to strive as a Nation to have about a \$300,000,000,000 economy in this country, and everybody threw up their hands and said that was impossible; but I also remember when the late President Roosevelt proposed during the early stages of the war that we build 50,000 planes a year everybody threw up their hands and said it could not be done. But it was done. And I remember in the early 30's when our national income was around eighty billion dollars, and when President Roosevelt suggested we strive to bring about one hundred billion dollars in income people threw up their hands and said it could not be done. But the fact of the matter is our national income exceeds the two hundred billion dollar mark and the end is not yet in sight.

Those are the people, the small people who are afraid, who try to limit production, who try to make a big profit on small sales instead of a small profit on large sales. We have to see that we increase the income of our people so that they become the purchasers of the production that our productive mechanism is capable of producing.

Now in recent weeks we have had quite a discussion throughout the press in regard to pensions. I want to spend a few minutes discussing that phase of it. First of all I don't want to be misunderstood; I think that the Steelworkers in their successful strike of establishing pensions have rendered not only to the steel industry and the Steelworkers but to the country as a whole a service that none of us today even dares to appreciate. Yet in our desire to go out and supplement our Federal pension system with private pensions let us not lose sight of the fact that private pensions in themselves are not going to fill the need of the American people. First of all bear in mind that a good portion of American workers are employed in small industry, and small industry comes and it goes. It would be very risky for any union to sign a contract with a very small employer that he, after 20 years or there-

abouts, is going to pay a pension to his workers, because who knows whether he is going to be in business at that time?

When you deal with large units of American industry, like Ford, U. S. Steel, Bethlehem, Westinghouse, General Motors, and so on, you are dealing with an industry which it is safe to say is going to be in business 25 or 30 years from now. But even then the mobility of the worker is somewhat reduced. You have to work for the same employer all those years in order to benefit from those pensions. If you quit or go elsewhere, or if the mill shuts down, for whatever reason, even though the company may remain in business, you are out of luck. So therefore we must press and continue to press to increase the social pension system by the Federal Government.

Let me tell you also what the Steelworkers Union did in that direction. About a year ago the United States Senate appointed a committee to study this whole pension system. I happened to be a member of that committee. We made a report and that report was pigeonholed, but as soon as the Steelworkers came out on strike for pensions the House of our Congress almost unanimously passed a greatly improved old-age pension. It has not reached the Senate, but it is hoped it will as soon as the Senate reconvenes in January, and we can expect an improved pension system. I say had it not been for the activity of the United Steelworkers of America that report of this Social Security Committee that was appointed by the Senate about a year ago would be still pigeonholed. So we do not minimize the value of our activities in the industrial field, even compelling our Congress to act.

Now we hear a lot of talk today that we have to choose, we either have to have security or sacrifice our freedom, that we cannot have both. I reject that type of philosophy. I claim we can have freedom and we can have security at the same time. I may say that organized labor does not have an all-inclusive ideology to solve all of these problems, that if you want to look for those ideologies then we have to look elsewhere. They have all of the answers when we look toward Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Russia, they have all the answers to all of these all-inclusive problems. American organized labor has no such all-inclusive ideology. We are taking one step at a time and building a better and greater America.

Now I want to say this, a lot of people in our own ranks are somewhat concerned about the activities of the CIO at the Cleveland Convention. Some of them are disturbed because we have thrown out some members, and some others are going to get hearings. I am a little handicapped, I cannot express myself as I wish on that subject because I am the chairman of a committee that is supposed to investigate four of those unions, and you know I have to be impartial.

Yes, after we clean house in the CIO we probably lose some members. I don't believe we are going to lose them for long. I have for a long time looked upon the CIO that it ought to be a union that is not stagnant, not dying on its feet, like our older trade union, the AF of L, and at the same time not being in any shape at all connected with any form of Communism, but rather a hard-hitting, a liberal, a progressive trade union; and if we give the American workers that type of a trade union I know that we can organize still those masses that remain unorganized.

Those of you that were in Cleveland perhaps remember the argument that was put up by the so-called fellow travelers, that CIO is ceasing to be a democratic union, that it ceases to be a union with autonomy. I took the

floor then and I said then what I am going to repeat here today. Democracy! Do they have democracy in Czechoslovakia? Do they have democracy in Russia? Do they have democracy in Bulgaria? What are these people talking about,—democracy? You know we have all kinds of people who coin all kinds of phrases these days. We have the reactionaries that coin phrases "Welfare State" and whatnot. We have the Communists that coin phrases about people's democracies and what have you. Well, some of us have traveled a little in this world of ours during our lifetime, some of us have had opportunities to visit some of those people's democracies. Yes, they are people's democracies but, when you go to sleep at night you don't know who is going to knock at your door or your neighbor's door, and you just disappear. Sometimes you reappear years later, and very often you do not reappear, and neither your family nor your friends know what happened. That is called people's democracy. Well, if that is people's democracy, I don't want any part of it. I don't want any part of it. •

(Applause.)

I want that part of a democracy that I feel if I have a grievance against my fellow man or against my government, or against my President, that I have a right to voice my opinion without any fear that I probably will not see daylight again, or not very much of it. We fortunately do have that type of a democracy. Because of an economic struggle in this country we more and more have engaged ourselves in political activities, because our life is becoming more complex, and as such there are many problems industry itself cannot solve. What is more, they don't want to solve them. You people who are undertaking this new step, be prepared for most anything. I happen to know some of your giants in industry. During the war I was a member of the War Labor Board. I rubbed elbows with some of your managers and some of your presidents. I happen to know what they said when I warned them about collaboration with some of the elements in the old UE, and I know what they told me. They said, "Well, we don't care whether they are Communists or not, we are getting along fine. Look at the speed-ups we are getting." GE was one who used that argument. So don't expect too much from that quarter; and you shouldn't take it even if it is given to you, because I always maintain this, anything worth having is worth fighting for, and anything anybody is giving you on a silver platter is not worth getting.

So you will have to prepare yourself for the struggle. And don't think anyone is going to do anything for you. Don't think that you can be complacent, and that Jimmy Carey or your Administrative Committee can wave the magic wand and that then things are going to happen. You have got to do that job.

Let me also say this, you people who are here represent thousands and hundreds of thousands of workers. Bear in mind that these workers did not select you to come to this Convention because they happened to like your looks or because they happened to like the way you comb your hair. They selected you because they felt that in your hands their welfare and their destiny is going to be protected. Therefore you dare not, you cannot, when you leave this Convention to go back to your homes, take it easy. There is just no such thing as taking life easy. You have got to tell your fellow members, you have got to tell them what mission you have undertaken in this gathering. And I have no fears at all that all the bombast, all the high-paid propaganda that the Matles and Emspaks can put out will prevent the people from

knowing where you are going and what you are after,—and that is to make their life a little better one.

So I just want to conclude by again saying I am very happy to participate in this birth of a great new international union. Roll up your sleeves, go to work with other workers in other American industries—and I am underscoring this, American industries—and with other workers who believe in the type of country that we have, and I know that we can do much toward rectifying all of these economic shortcomings we have and that we can build a still much better country than the one we have so that we can have a country that will provide jobs for everybody at decent salaries, that will provide schools for every child, that will provide all of the other necessities of life. So let us together build that type of a country so it means a country where we can live, work, play, and bring our children up.

I thank you.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: If I did not know Emil Rieve as well as I do I would have said the things I am about to say before he addressed the Convention. I know him so well that now I can tell you exactly what I think without any concern that he will have a chance before this microphone for rebuttal.

He had the opportunity on several occasions of introducing me at meetings. On one occasion not too long ago over a national hook-up, when he said that some people called the next speaker a boy wonder, he said, "He is no boy, and it's no wonder." And then he proceeds to do a terrific job.

I traveled with the fellow through Europe a bit. We got ourselves located in the Soviet Union on one occasion and we both had some friends who had been executed not too long before by the leaders of the Soviet Union—two labor leaders of Poland—Alter and Erlich. They were two lifelong labor leaders that had been anti-Fascist down through the years. They were two Jews and two Socialists. They not only assassinated these two leaders of labor, but they assassinated their characters as well. So Emil and I, immediately upon arrival in the Soviet Union, sought information regarding the graves of these two men. We carried along some wreaths that we wanted to put on their graves in honor of their memory. We could not find anyone in the Soviet Union who would acknowledge they knew these two international union labor leaders of Poland.

But in addition to the serious part of the work I overheard a discussion between a lefty member of the CIO delegation and our guest of today, Emil Rieve. It seems Emil was anti-Communist while he was in the Soviet Union, as he is wherever he happens to be. He is free to express his views. This lefty member of the CIO Delegation said, "Emil, you don't understand the psychology of the people here in the Soviet Union." And Rieve responded by saying, "Of course I don't know as much about the psychology of the people of the Soviet Union as you know. But you know I was born in this section of the world." And immediately Reid Robinson said, "Yes, but you don't know how it was in the Soviet Union under the Czar." Rieve said, "That's when I was born here. That's when I lived here, and that's the kind of a situation I knew. But of course I don't know as much about the Soviet Union as you know, Robinson."

He presented to a meeting of the labor leaders of the Soviet Union the best analysis I have ever heard of the differences between the United States and the Soviet Union, and they applauded his remarks. He told them that he understood the difficulties in raising the standard of living of the people

of that country. He told them he had lived in the Soviet Union long enough and in the United States, the country he loved, long enough to present an objective comparison. He proceeded to do it, and they were warm in their applause. And surprisingly enough, when he finished they stood up with some real, honest-to-goodness enthusiasm.

I was rather curious when the head of the Research Department of the Soviet Trade Unions—his name I will not mention—said, "You know, Mr. Carey, we like you a lot. We like Emil Rieve even better." And he proceeded in his very forthright way to tell me why, and he indicated that here was a local boy who made good. He indicated that this fellow speaks the truth, he has an understanding of the problems of the people that he serves in the United States and a broad understanding of the situation in the land of his birth.

So it was all very interesting. The Executive Officer of the Soviet Trade Unions proceeded to tell me there were two members of the CIO delegation, however, that they could not understand. I was interested and asked them to name the two, and he named Lee Pressman and Reid Robinson. I said, "Interestingly enough, those fellows profess to be your friends in the United States." And the fellow said, "Yes, but when they toast the Red Army they forget about your country. When they give a toast to Stalin they forget that you have a President in the United States. They don't even mention Roosevelt or Truman." And the fellow went on to present a picture that caused me to interrupt and say, "Just what are you charging Lee Pressman and Reid Robinson with, with being Quislings?" And he said, "Yes, that's right, they are Quislings." That may be of interest to some of you because I gleaned the feeling among those people in the Soviet Union that they had as many Communists as they wanted, and when a labor delegation goes to the Soviet Union they should present a picture of the United States as Emil Rieve presented it, as a trade unionist would be required to present it and to discuss these questions in a very frank and forthright manner. That is why I believe sincerely that if we had more Emil Rieves engaging in international affairs it would bring about greater understanding among the peoples of the world.

While we traveled down the Volga River and in other places we had something of a standing agreement that one night Emil Rieve would do the vodka drinking and the next night I would do it. On one occasion when it was Rieve's turn to do the drinking a textile worker came up to him and said, "Let's have a toast." And the way they do it, you come up and give a toast and take a drink, and another fellow would come up and give a toast and you drink some more vodka, and before long you will have seven shots to one. So Rieve had had his full share of vodka that night, drinking his own and mine, and he decided to put an end to it and he said, "Yes, we will drink a toast. but you will drink it my way." So we took a tumbler glass and filled that glass with vodka and took this textile officer's glass, which was a little cordial glass, and Rieve's glass was larger. They both stood up together and Rieve said, in the few words of Russian he understands, "Bottoms up." You should have seen that situation—Rieve drinking the vodka, finishing, and proceeding to make a speech, and the other fellow had slid under the table. My own experience is that vodka is something like Dupont No. 7 paint remover.

In whatever Emil Rieve presents to you in the problems concerning IUE, I suggest you don't get into a drinking bout with him.

Thanks, Emil. Your service to the organization in the past is well known, and I appreciate the times when you have come on many occasions at our beck and call to make your contribution toward making this Convention possible financially and otherwise, when we were engaged in a difficult fight.

I now call upon the Chairman of the Committee on Officers' Report, Mike Fitzpatrick.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON OFFICERS' REPORT

Committee Chairman Michael Fitzpatrick submitted the following report:

The IUE-CIO is already one of the big CIO unions. As of November 26, charters had been issued to 128 locals with a total membership of over 211,325! Not bad for an international union less than four weeks old.

Already the IUE-CIO is ready to take its place alongside steel, auto, rubber, clothing and textile as one of the big vital pace-setting unions in the American labor movement. Already the IUE-CIO is ready to carry its fair share of the CIO fight for a better America. Although we are already over the half-way mark and are fighting for all American workers in the electrical radio and allied industries, we are looking beyond the present fight to the collective bargaining table. We have made such solid accomplishments in the last three weeks that we can afford to ignore for the time being the Communist and fellow-traveling phonies who sought to make the UE a tool for Russian imperialism.

This statement is in the nature of a report to you on the electrical, radio and allied industries and on the wage status of our members in this industry.

Sales, Profits, Dividends Skyrocketing

Few industries in the United States have enjoyed so great a relative expansion and so favorable an earning record as has the electrical machinery and equipment industry. Few industries enjoy today so favorable an outlook for continued productive expansion and earnings. Here's the picture since 1939:

	1939	1944	1948
Sales (in millions)	\$1,844	\$6,874	\$8,549
Profits, After Taxes	148	430	575
Dividends	96	109	208
Undistributed Profits	52	321	367

One very interesting fact to remember in connection with the above figures is that although total industry sales jumped 20 percent from 1944 to 1948, the number of production workers dropped from 765,000 to 558,000 or 27 percent.

Outlook for Industry Excellent

Experts have estimated that **\$20 billion** will be spent through 1955 just for expansion of electrical generating capacity in this country. By 1955, electrical consumption in homes is expected to increase 53 percent while electrical consumption by commercial and industrial users is expected to jump 47 percent.

The tremendous expansion of electrical generating capacity in public utility, rural electrification and public power projects will provide a tre-

mendous market for the products of the electrical machinery and equipment industry, just as extension of electrical power to additional hundreds of thousands of homes, promises huge increases in sales of electrical appliances and electrically powered equipment.

If we consider the anticipated expansion of television, atomic energy projects and programs, the further development of jet turbine engines, we will have every reason to consider the future of this industry one of great promise.

Productivity Up 30 Percent; Real Weekly Wages Down From '43

The figures on productivity per worker and real weekly wages are very interesting. Here they are listed separately:

Year	Output Per Man Hour
1943	100.0
1944	105.8
1945	116.5
1946	124.0
1947	130.6

Although money wages have jumped from an average of \$27.09 a week in 1939 to \$56.57 for the first nine months of this year real wages have increased only \$6.00 in terms of the 1939 dollar and have been falling since 1944.

Year	Weekly Wages Index
1943	100.0
1944	103.3
1945	98.2
1946	89.0
1947	87.7

How Do Wages Compare With Those in Auto, Steel and Other Industries?

Wages in the electrical, radio and allied fields are lower than those in other industries organized by CIO unions. Here's how the figures stack up as of September, 1949:

Industry	Average Hourly Wage
Electrical	\$1.448
Auto	1.703
Steel	1.652
Transportation Equipment...	1.667
Aircraft	1.54
RR Equipment	1.62
All Durable Goods	1.481

These figures speak for themselves. We in the IUE-CIO propose to do something about this situation.

Here's Our Program and It's a Fighting Program

1. **PENSIONS.** \$100 a month minimum including primary social security for all workers with 25 years service at age 65. **But** and this is a big but—not only will this pension be employer financed, but there will be severance pay provisions as part of the pension plan. When a worker dies, his widow and survivors will get regular death benefits.

2. **SOCIAL INSURANCE.** This will provide for medical care, death

benefits, hospitalization and surgical care for worker and his family, and payment while sick or disabled.

3. WAGE ADJUSTMENTS. We want adjustments to bring the wage status of workers in our industry up to that of steel, auto, aircraft. We want wage adjustments so that our workers will get their fair share in increased productivity. Consider these facts: Productivity has gone up 30 percent since 1943, employment has gone down 27 percent since 1944 and corporate profits after taxes per production worker has doubled in the same period.

The IUE-CIO will concentrate all its strength and all its energy in doing an honest-to-God militant trade union down-to-earth job in improving pay, security and welfare conditions of the men and women who work in this industry and in fighting shoulder to shoulder with the other great unions in the CIO to build a stronger, healthier, happier America.

Michael Fitzpatrick, Chairman
John Dillon, Secretary
Frank Pellegrino
M. Lynch
Robert Cox
William Hartley
Leo M. Messier
Frank Kriss
John Stoss

Guy Fragle
Priscilla Halmaji
Harold Carpenter
Raymond Messer
Charles Hubbs
James W. Click
Charles Jeske
Earl McGrew

—Committee on Officers Report

CHAIRMAN FITZPATRICK: That concludes the report of the Committee, Mr. Chairman, and the committee unanimously recommends adoption.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: You have heard the recommendation of the Committee; what is your pleasure?

The Chair recognizes Delegate Pellegrino. I watched Frank Pellegrino try to get the floor in Boston, New York, and Cleveland, and in at least one other Convention of the UE, and finally after four Conventions Frank Pellegrino, delegate from Local 101, has the floor.

DELEGATE FRANK PELLEGRINO, Local 101: After 4 years as delegate to the CIO Electrical Workers Conventions, I finally succeeded in getting a chance to speak. Only because we are now 100 percent democratic.

As a member of the Officers Report Committee at this IUE-CIO Convention, I wish to present my reasons why this report should be adopted. The report states the facts, the truth and not the deceitful lies that the dead UE is trying to hand out. Charters of 128 locals with a total membership of 211,325, something we are proud of for a union less than four weeks old. The old UE is boasting a 600,000 membership which they know is not true. And for you delegates here today I wish to state that the old UE is not prepared today to give you the truth and will be less so tomorrow. Already the IUE-CIO is ready to take its place alongside the other CIO internationals and our leaders along with the members of IUE-CIO are ready to carry their fair share of the CIO fight for a better America.

We have no longer amidst our ranks those communistic phonies who try to say in the same breath they are Americans. The IUE-CIO will not tolerate the parasites whose judgment and policies are designed to the expansionist policy of the Soviet Government. We can ignore, for the time being, these things and fight for good collective bargaining and devote more of our

time to the serious business of the high cost of living, what should be done to increase the consumers power, to maintain steady employment, pensions, severance pay, health insurance, and last of all but not least the necessary wage adjustments that will bring the wage status of workers in our industry up to that of steel, auto, and aircraft. Not up to a big balloon filled with hot air about a \$500 package that Fitzgerald, Emspak and Matles tried to give us at the last old UE Convention. Yes, I remember the old UE Convention and I remember Matles, Emspak and Fitzgerald at a meeting of all District 1 shop stewards and executive board members. When they were asked about the UE policy before this \$500 pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. I remember when they were asked what were their instructions to the District Councils on contract negotiations for that year. The reply was go and get what you can get.

So you see, the dead UE never got the members anything. They never gave anything. Oh yes, they did, I forgot, they gave us plenty of hot air and later on a \$500 balloon, and to conclude my remarks as is worded for the delegates and members of the IUE-CIO. We will concentrate all our strength and all our energy in doing an honest-to-God militant trade union down-to-earth job in improving pay, security and welfare conditions of the men and women who work in this industry and in fighting shoulder-to-shoulder with the other great unions in the CIO to build a stronger, healthier, happier America.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The motion is to adopt the report of the Committee on Officers' Report. Those in favor will say aye. Those opposed, no. The ayes have it, and it is unanimously adopted.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chairman recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Credentials for a further report.

FINAL REPORT OF CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

DELEGATE HAWKINS, Chairman of the Credentials Committee, made the following report:

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates: In accordance with the terms and provisions of the Organizational Convention Call, your Committee on Credentials begs leave to report as follows:

"To the Administrative Committee and Delegates of the Organizational Convention of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers-CIO:

We have examined the credentials of 404 delegates representing 125 locals and 1 District Council of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers-CIO.

DISTRICT 1

Local No. and Location	No. Delegates	In Attendance
101, Philadelphia, Pa.	10	Harry Kline Frederick Weber Lewis Cummings Frank Pellegrino Herbert Bernstein George Simpson Frank Blechinger Harry Block

Local No. and Location	No. Delegates	In Attendance
		Leonard Devers James B. Carey Daniel McCarrie (Alternate) Frederick Beyers (Alternate)
102, Philadelphia, Pa.	10	James Campbell Edward McCloskey Albert Newcomb Michael Toohey James J. Godfrey Clyde R. Buchanan David Neish Francis B. Way Vincent Sillers Herbert Rech
104, Easton, Pa.	2	Earl M. Howell Henry H. Thomas
111, Philadelphia, Pa.	3	Joseph R. Clark John G. McWilliams Bertrand H. Hoffman
113, Philadelphia, Pa.	5	Joseph T. Kelley Cornelius J. Harkins Walter Milloch Robert A. Cox Charles Goff
116, Philadelphia, Pa.	7	John Mackin Otto Kugler Edward Mackin Carl Sperr Anna Lorek Joseph Prior Daniel Rymshaw
118, Philadelphia, Pa.	4	Louis Ginsburg Charles Armstrong Mary Reichert Clara A. Bartsch
121, Lancaster, Pa.	1	Ernest Kline Raymond Hershock (Alternate)
135, Lykens, Pa.	1	John H. G. Coles
145, Berwyn, Pa.	2	Annao J. Falcone Anthony Lemma
165, Philadelphia, Pa.	3	Joe Walter Charles Gallagher William Bradley

Local No. and Location	No. Delegates	In Attendance
103, Camden, N. J.	6	Alexander Szabo Joe Higgins Francis Butcher Edward Galvin Roy V. Wilkinson Danny Arnold
105, Philadelphia, Pa.	9	George T. Berry Mary Callahan Charles Flaherty Luther Welzel Peter Shyposh Mildred Taylor Betty Boylan Mary Burgoon James McMeniman
109, Baltimore, Md.	1	Irving Kandel
112, Easton, Pa.	2	Carl John Re James Patire
117, Honesdale, Pa.	1	Frank Hogencamp
124, Lancaster, Pa.	2	John M. Lockard Nina I. Lockard
136, Philadelphia, Pa.	3	William Roche Joseph G. Wirtz Orville Ballard
163, Pulaski, Virginia	2	Richard W. Quisenberry James H. Stephenson
119, Philadelphia, Pa.	10	Edward Houchins Frank Scannell Walt Morgan Al Shumaker Wm. Buchanan Sid Fields Leo Kelly Clayton Dechant Mike Tralies Lou Dumont
132, Lancaster, Pa.	2	Benjamin Hasselbach Arthur Johannsen

DISTRICT 2

202, Springfield, Mass.	9	Leo F. Benoit Thomas Wilson Anthony Cimino William Lieberman
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Local No. and Location	No. Delegates	In Attendance
		Charles ViVenzio Lucy Carmel John Paran Romeo Nadeau William F. Hartley
203, Bridgeport, Conn.	3	Fred Menach James M. Shannon Joseph T. Zustin
206, Springfield, Mass.	2	Frank H. Farnen Ralph E. Chicketti
227, Bridgeport, Conn.	10	Sylvester Chelko Fred Meliscinski Eli Gonzalez James Hosey Joseph DeFelice William Holleran Anthony Mannino Stanley Kritcki Philip DiLeo Thomas Williams
229, Bridgeport, Conn.	1	James J. Seymour
237, Bridgeport, Conn.	1	Dominick Tortaso
249, Hartford, Conn.	1	Walter D. Moran
255, Pittsfield, Mass.	10	John H. Callahan Edward Connelly Arthur J. LeBlue Ralph Froio Charles Simmons Joseph Tanghetti David Knights Mrs. Jane Nelson Stanley Lang Andrew Wilkins
268, Bridgeport, Conn.	1	Mae LaRoaz
201, Lynn, Mass.	6	William O. Emery Sidney E. Cushing Frederick M. Kelley Herman Carter Thomas Gilroy James Kelley
213, Indian Orchard, Mass.	4	Louis A. Henrichon Henry H. Lussier Peter Cienciwa William Osgood

Local No. and Location	No. Delegates	In Attendance
215, Lynn, Mass.	3	Sam Vitali Doris Reichardt Grace Morgan
220, Springfield, Mass.	2	Leo N. Messier Edward Lussier
247, Torrington, Conn.	1	Edward J. Drinzyk
257, Lynn, Mass.	2	Donald Muller Clarence A. Studley
266, Springfield, Mass.	1	George Houghton Harry McIntire (Alternate)
278, Indian Orchard, Mass.	4	Daniel P. McKenna Patrick Hughes Edward King Edward Brunelle
283, Providence, R. I.	1	Ralph Labriole
288, Indian Orchard, Mass.	4	James G. Gibbs J. Emery LaPierre Arthur B. Miles Albert Kielbania
289, Hartford, Conn.	1	Harold E. Burt
291, Salem, Mass.	2	Eileen Dooley Harry Zanni

DISTRICT 3

316, Buffalo, N. Y.	2	Daniel Bachman Elmer H. Michel, Jr.
509, Rochester, N. Y.	3	Joseph Staffieri Frank J. Murray Fred Hadfield
301, Schenectady, N. Y.	5	Frank Fiorello Frank Kriss Kathleen Herring Frank Styles John Rej
303, No. Tonawanda, N. Y.	2	John F. Lukasik Walter A. Kwienen
314, Hudson, N. Y.	1	Alfred Rivenburgh
315, Buffalo, N. Y.	1	Theodore Dombrowski
320, Syracuse, N. Y.	2	Minor J. Shaw Harold A. Martin

Local No. and Location	No. Delegates	In Attendance
321, Syracuse, N. Y.	2	James Nolan John Madden
1581, Buffalo, N. Y.	4	Theodore Wienzlic Daniel Netzel George W. Poole Stan Pawlak

DISTRICT 4

406, Elizabeth, N. J.	1	Theo S. Wenk John B. McGarry (Alternate)
412, Bloomfield, N. J.	2	C. E. Durham Frank R. Ruth
415, Newark, N. J.	1	William Williams
416, New Brunswick, N. J.	2	Peter Nika Harold K. Merrell
423, Clifton, N. J.	4	Tadeus Pasioka Woodrow Dill
424, Newark, N. J.	1	George W. Allen
425, Long Island City, N. Y.	4	Kenneth Peterson Paul Bruno George Collins John Dillon
434, Tarrytown, N. Y.	3	Patsy Caporal John Kelly Charles P. Brady
435, Plainfield, N. J.	1	William A. Young
440, Carteret, N. J.	3	Michael Capp John Kettyle John Hutnick
444, Newark, N. J.	2	Charles C. Burke Paul N. Schnatz
445, Newark, N. J.	4	James Brackin Stella Chester James T. Calloghan Joseph Minish
452, New York City, N. Y.	2	Clifford Haley Joseph Ardauiuolo
455, Trenton, N. J.	3	Nicholis Tabak LeRoy Mifflin Joseph Sokolowski

Local No. and Location	No. Delegates	In Attendance
402, White Plains, N. Y.	2	Joseph Vicinanza John J. Garvey
475, Brooklyn, N. Y.	2	Mark J. Lax John Gallagher
405, Garfield, N. J.	2	Joseph Puglia John Stass
427, Hoboken, N. J.	5	William White William Dempsey Anton A. Elitech Nicholas L. Feola Frank Lyle
428, White Plains, N. Y.	1	Agnes E. Murphy
441, Elizabeth, N. J.	3	Joseph Mrak George Simpson Joseph Iozzi
450, Jamaica, Long Island, N. Y.	10	John Egan Robert J. Kennedy William J. Brady Robert O'Havessen A. J. Cimeo Thomas E. Kitilson Joseph Krauss James D. Compton Edward S. Flaherty Paul Jennings
453, Yonkers, N. Y.	5	Edward Gorton John J. Page Edward Malcolm Edwin Pattison James P. Durkin

DISTRICT 5

508, Guelph, Ontario	1	Robert T. Lyle
510, Brockville, Ontario	1	Fred McGrady
524, Peterboro, Ontario	2	J. Morton S. Agnew

DISTRICT 6

601, Pittsburgh, Pa.	10	Mike Fitzpatrick Philip Conahan Patrick O'Connor John Amend Eugene Rath Charles Copeland
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Local No. and Location	No. Delegates	In Attendance
		Thomas Sullivan Albert Pepperman O. Bowman Melvin Stotlemeyer
602, New Kensington, Pa.	2	Francis Galli Andrew Panezich
627, Fairmont, W. Va.	5	William J. Parker Dale Stewart Clarence Keener Robert H. Leaf Mrs. Robert Leaf
628, Williamsport, Pa.	3	S. P. Weaver Jos. R. George Frank Hannen
502, St. Mary's, Pa.	2	Robert Loeffler William Squires
621, Erie, Pa.	4	Herbert Yochim John Reinhold Max Gronz John Locke
617, Sharon, Pa.	6	Guy Fragle Raymond Withersty Harold J. Moss William Virag Fred P. Higgins Jesse Wayne
610, Swissvale, Pa.	9	Salvatore Falvo John C. Hreha Robert R. Klingensmith George A. Satler Charles V. Lamb Dennis D. Stevens Raymond S. Vactor Harry V. Mash James Bonner
623, Pittsburgh, Pa.	2	James S. Lawson Philip Purpura
633, Warren, Pa.	2	Charles Tanguy Arthur Dickinson

DISTRICT 7

717, Warren, Ohio	5	Robert Young James S. Sayers Homer C. Pierce Lucian Ciferno Harry H. Webb
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Local No. and Location	No. Delegates	In Attendance
722, Warren, Ohio	1	Pricilla Halmagi Louis Bungermeyer (Alternate)
726, Dayton, Ohio	1	John R. Massing
729, Norwood, Ohio	1	Charles T. Davis
755, Dayton, Ohio	10	E. J. Kraft William Snoots C. L. Montgomery James Greenwood N. J. Vincent Charles Louis John P. Duell Herman Puckett Ermel F. Burns George F. Lawson
757, Cincinnati, Ohio	4	Raymond Messer Henry Kunkemoeller Harold Carpenter Luther Richmond
759, Mansfield, Ohio	1	R. Richard Fisher
763, Lima, Ohio	2	William S. Mawherr Harold F. Cook
765, Norwood, Ohio	1	E. G. Heine
770, Dayton, Ohio	2	Cody E. Wroten J. Gerald Poeppelmeier
801, Dayton, Ohio	10	Robert N. Elsner Herman E. Saylor Clyde Hampton Harry Clark Donald Dalbey Jesse Moore Estel Greene George Moyer Roscoe Miller Walter Strong
804, Dayton, Ohio	1	Conrad Grimes
District Councils No. 7	1	Wesley Steinhilber
711, Mansfield, Ohio	6	Joseph T. Hawkins Russell L. Yarman Thomas P. Flood James Young Jacob Campbell Robert Petee
768, Dayton, Ohio	2	Harry Wise L. W. Wornstaff

Local No. and Location	No. Delegates	In Attendance
777, Cleveland, Ohio	2	Verne A. Brant S. T. Nolan
701, Sandusky, Ohio	4	Mike Manuella Willard Motry Lou Schock Bertha Johannsen
710, Sandusky, Ohio	1	Robert Hasten
716, Sandusky, Ohio	2	Floyd Killam Prince Alexander
721, Cleveland, Ohio	2	John Stieber Charles J. Norbert
724, Lima, Ohio	1	Wilbur L. Winturowd
728, Cleveland, Ohio	2	Juner Gipson Joseph Apanovich
707, Cleveland, Ohio	4	Vernon Johnson Harold Cannon Edward Ckohler Loretta Toner

DISTRICT 8

805, Tell City, Indiana	2	Jacob Hoffman Charles Hubbs
808, Evansville, Indiana	3	Ernest Rutherford LeRoy Bartley William Wallace
814, Moline, Illinois	2	Roy Saltz Henry Anderson
820, St. Louis Mo.	2	Don Brunner Herbert Herde
1102, St. Louis, Mo.	7	James W. Click Raymond Polak Ralph Turrentine Eustius Brendle Simon Hydar William D. Drohan Gordon E. Cortor
1104, St. Louis, Mo.	3	Raymond Mertens Raymond Klos Wm. Blackenship
1108, St. Louis, Mo.	2	James Hibbits Frank Lenhardt

DISTRICT 9

902, Fort Wayne, Indiana	2	James B. Pascoe Viola Pascoe
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Local No. and Location	No. Delegates	In Attendance
1001, Indianapolis, Ind.	3	Charles Snodgrass Herman Marsischke Frank Stackhouse
917, South Bend, Ind.	5	John Barkley John Rozewicz Eugene Bare Chauncy Mathes Royce Chubbuck

DISTRICT 11

1114, Chicago, Ill.	9	Alan Palmer Edward Dailey Charles Mickels Al Delaat Steve Sokolowski Jack Witt Charles Jeske Tony Chos Steve Szepaniak
1121, Chicago, Ill.	3	Earl McGrew Al Fineman Alfred Swanek
1117, St. Paul, Minn.	2	Louis Ervin Lee Parks
1111, Milwaukee, Wis.	1	Harley Wright
1131, Milwaukee, Wis.	1	Victor Zeigler
215, Chicago, Ill.	1	Harry Manola
1150, Chicago, Ill.	1	Otto K. Fennig

Mr. Chairman, we recommend that these delegates whose credentials have been examined be seated and that upon acceptance of the report, the Credentials Committee be dismissed.

Respectfully Submitted,

JOSEPH HAWKINS, Chairman
PAUL JENNINGS, Secretary
LOUIS GINSBURG
HARRY McINTIRE
FRANK MURRAY
JOHN MORTON
CHARLES COPELAND
JAMES HIBBITS
JAMES PASCOE
AL FINEMAN
ED. GALVIN

Committee Members

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HAWKINS: I wish to take this opportunity to thank all the members for their attendance and cooperation and the staff members that assisted our committee.

I move adoption of the report and dismissal of our committee.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I would like to suggest the Committee be prepared to receive credentials from some of the Local Unions that were chartered within the last two days, in order that any of the Locals that are able to have delegates arrive before the end of the Convention may have those delegates seated as duly accredited delegates.

If there is no objection, that procedure will be ordered.

I would like to have the permission of the Convention to thank the Committee on Officers Report for their report, and that that Committee be dismissed.

Upon motion duly made, seconded, and unanimously carried, the Committee on Officers Report was dismissed, with the thanks of the Convention.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I am proud, and I know this Convention is proud, to have as our guest today a man who stands as an illustration of the great basic moral principle which underlies the whole philosophy of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. I refer specifically to that provision in the CIO Constitution which counts persons as human beings, joined in one great brotherhood under the fatherhood of God.

This guest of ours here today has been a personal friend of mine for many years, and so I am going to take the liberty of going into his life history a bit. During the first World War his merit and ability resulted in his being commissioned an officer in the armed forces. Knowing the handicap confronting him, however, he decided to equip himself for service among his own neglected people by hard work and strict self-denial. He graduated after World War I from the Royal Academy of Sciences in Toronto with a degree in science. He came back to the United States full of ambition to render the service that he was qualified to give.

We have in this country, however, certain vicious patterns which set up arbitrary distinctions based on race, creed and color. This guest of ours found those patterns operating. The only job he could get to render service to his people was as a teacher of a Negro school in the great state of Texas.

One year of experience in that job convinced him that he faced a hopeless task. The job would have to be done in another way. This man, a college graduate, quit his teaching job, returned to Chicago and took a job as a station red-cap, carrying baggage in the Northwestern depot. It was in that railroad station, among those exploited and ostracized workers that one of our CIO international unions was born.

I could spend an hour telling you this story, but I will condense it. The red-caps in those days were not employees of the railroad. They were classified as those strange devices of management, independent contractors. They got no hourly rate of pay; they were dependent entirely upon the tips tossed to them by the traveling public. They had no stated hours of work. If they fell and broke a leg on the job, management was not even required to send them to a hospital. They were slaves, beggars, objects of charity.

This guest of ours changed all that. Almost single-handed, with a few colleagues who shared his devotion, he fought the cause of those workers—through the Interstate Commerce Commission, through one federal court after another, including the United States Supreme Court, and he won for

those workers the full rights that had long been denied them by the great railroads of the United States. Today the transport service worker who handles your baggage in these great railroad terminals walks with dignity born of independence and real status among his fellow workers. He is paid for his work; his hours are regulated by law; he enjoys vacations and he enjoys pension rights. The whole CIO is proud of affiliation with the United Transport Service Employees' Union.

But this man has rendered more to the labor movement than his service to the members of his union. Back some three years ago, when Communist infiltration threatened to engulf the labor movement of Japan, this guest of ours was selected by President Philip Murray to journey to Japan to give General Douglas MacArthur a helping hand. General McArthur today says that this guest of ours averted a Communist uprising that would have served a principal objective of the Soviet Union.

This man is my friend and your friend. He has made an outstanding contribution to our whole cause as secretary of the National CIO Committee to Abolish Discrimination. He believes that the problem of America is that of extending and expanding and strengthening our democratic process, so that all men—regardless of race or color, will enjoy economic equality, political equality, and equality in the services offered by the community.

It is through his wise counsel that millions of his own people have rallied in this country to reject totalitarian communism and the delusion which spreads forth misguidance of minority groups. This guest of ours believes that sound trade unions will solve all the economic problems of the American workers.

It affords me pleasure and honor to introduce to you the great president of the United Transport Service Workers of America, CIO, Willard S. Townsend. (Applause.)

WILLARD TOWNSEND

President, Transport Service Workers Union

My good friend, Jim Carey, and officers and members of the International Union of Electrical Workers, and delegates to this very splendid Convention, I am very happy indeed to have an opportunity to speak a few brief words to you. To me, as I sit here on this platform watching you good Americans participate in a very good American trade union, I feel that not only are you organizing a movement or have you organized a movement for yourselves but you have done a great deed, that you have made a great contribution to America. I say that because I know, as do many others in the trade union movement, that there are forces on the march today throughout the world who would go to every end to destroy our democracy, and because you electrical workers have thrown off the mantle of totalitarianism I salute you, and I greet you from the very depths of my heart. (Applause.)

While it is true, appallingly true, that here in America, America the great democracy of the world, there is imposed upon certain groups within the confines of the continental United States indignities that certainly should be eliminated in this country, I shall continue to fight against those indignities, my trade union fellows, within the framework of the Constitution of this country. And I feel while there is much wrong with America I cannot help but remember the immortal words of Stephen Decatur who said, "America, may she always be right in her intercourse with other nations, but right or wrong, America."

I say that because I reject totally the philosophy that comes to this country from abroad that attempts to create confusion within the ranks of our people. Certainly we have these problems, but I think we can do something about them. We have moved along steadily throughout the last 75 or 80 years since we had chattel slavery in this country and out of that we are beginning to realize not only should we progress in the field of industrial relationships but we must also progress in the field of human relationships. That is one of the problems that you must solve in this country, that we must solve jointly in this country.

You know, as I view the history of this country and the problems that we have and some of the things that have created these problems, I feel heartened, I feel heartened because we will meet them and we will solve them just as we have solved every other problem. You and I are workers and though we may be different ethnically, our skins may be different in color, we have both been exploited by industrial overlords, and so long as they can play one of us off against the other, they will do so.

In the early days when our industry started in this country, in the American Federation of Labor, through the craft arrangement there was denied to the Negro people an opportunity to participate in a free trade union movement and, as a result, they created large reservoirs of strikebreakers throughout the country, because these people had to eat, these people had to provide for their children, and they had to have homes and hospitalization and those things that go to make people safe and happy in a free country. And out of this denial came this antagonism, this prejudice, and this hatred.

Today within the CIO we are bending every effort to destroy that; and you, members of this great International Union, remember always that we are workers, and that this same exploitation that is imposed upon one group of workers is imposed on all workers and it is your duty as trade union members, as good Americans, to fight bigotry and prejudice wherever you find it. Fight it within the framework of the Constitution that makes it possible for us to do so.

You know this Communist business has been very interesting to me because I have studied it; I know what it is and I know its confusion, and I might before I go into a brief talk on dialectical materialism, as they call it, tell you an interesting story which I think is apropos and fits very well into this Communistic philosophy. Some years ago a group of eminent scholars came together and decided they would write a new textbook for high school use. The old textbooks had outlived their usefulness, and so they decided, "We will prepare for the high school student a very useful and erudite book that can be used in the preparatory stages for the students of this country." It was prepared and circulated among a very great number of high schools in America, and it was received with great acclaim by many prominent educators. Finally it found its way to the city of Minneapolis. And when the textbook was being reviewed by the Board of Trustees for the schools of Minneapolis all the members of the Board were quite satisfied and willing to accept this textbook except one very fine old lady who was very much disturbed by a passage she saw on page 72. On page 72 there was a passage dealing with civics, how we elect the officers of our various city governments, municipal State, and Federal; and the remaining group of the trustees noticing her great alarm, decided they would read it, and they did, and it read something like this: It so happened back around 1912 when

Theodore Roosevelt was a candidate for the Presidency of the United States that his daughter was campaigning along with the other politicians of that day in order to help her father be elected to the Presidency, and she was addressing an audience in one of the middle States, and one of the many hecklers heckled her from time to time, and one of the questions proposed was, "What do you think of the Ku Klux Klan?" She ignored it as long as she possibly could until one of the more vociferous members of the audience stood up and said, "What do you think of the Ku Klux Klan?" And the lady, with great dignity, turned and faced him and said, "I am always afraid of a man under sheets."

Well, I feel that way, too, about the Klan; and very frankly I think the Communist party is past due, they should be wearing sheets also.

Now what about this infiltration of foreign ideology into our American trade union movement? Karl Marx pointed out many years ago if Communism is to thrive and spread and progress it must do so on chaos and confusion. And that is just about what they set out to do in this country. Back during the days shortly after the Sacco-Vanzetti case up in Massachusetts, that you all know about, they decided they must find a new vehicle in America, so they decided that since the American Negro represented the largest minority group in America and that they were victims of many vicious forms of discrimination, that it might be well if they organized the American Negro. So they moved into New York's Harlem, into Chicago's South Side, into Detroit's Paradise Valley, and started an organization among Negroes. It is very interesting the methods they used in attempting to organize these people. They decided they would organize a movement among them that would be called "Self-Determinism for the Negro in the Black Belts," which was nothing more than another form of discrimination, in which they proposed the Negroes of this country would be an entity unto themselves. The intelligent Negroes of this country rejected this philosophy and criticized it severely, and they withdrew.

So they found that they must find another vehicle. So they moved into the trade union movement, and during the early days of CIO they attempted to gain a beachhead in our movement. They went along for some time until they again pulled a faux pas, and last year or the year before they decided they would elect a President of the United States, or cause to be elected, if not their own, a reactionary President that would create enough confusion to keep you American people divided. So they established the Progressive party. It is a historical fact, we all know what happened to the Progressive party. So after the demise of the Progressive party, President Truman, under the advice of your Chairman here today, Jim Carey, had appointed a Committee on Civil Rights, and a very splendid report was produced by the President which had to do with the treatment and equality of opportunity of all the people of this country. They decided to come back into our communities again.

While I am at it, I hope the reporter for the Daily Worker quotes me correctly this time. They have spent about three weeks quoting me and calling me everything that is possible, which I have enjoyed very much, and I would like the editors to know it—saying we in CIO, because we have eliminated ourselves from the trash and filth we countenanced for lo these many years, we have turned our backs on the Negro people. That is untrue. We simply intend to fight for those things that are decent and worthwhile

without the help of Joe Stalin and without the help of any of his filthy followers herein America. (Applause.)

The trade union movement was organized and designed to do just that sort of thing. We can do it; we will do it.

You know at the close of the Civil War in this country we had south of the Mason-Dixon line four groupings in our society. We had four million slaves, and we had about a million free Negroes in the South. We had about two and a half million slave owners and about five million working people, like you; and I think it is very interesting, if you follow me, because these slave owners in the South took the slaves, taught them the skill and artistry of the day, such as wheelwrights, brick masons, carpenters, and hired them out for a very cheap wage against that five million workers who lived in that section of the country, and they forced those five million workers to take to the hills and to the mountains and try to produce on meager lands sufficient food for themselves and their families, and unfortunately the worker of that day rather than recognize the cause vented all of his spleen and hatred on the helpless Negro slave who had been brought here against his will. And against that background we went into the Civil War. There were hatreds and prejudices on the part of the American working people against the American Negro slave, because he fought the result rather than fight the cause. And today I am asking you as trade unionists, fight the cause—fight the cause.

That in brief accounts for some of the bitterness and hatreds that permeate this country. We cannot live, we cannot continue to exist if we permit that sort of thing to remain within our neighborhoods and within our communities, and within our free trade union movement, because all over the world, my friends, people are restless, and with three-fifths of the world's population being made up of darker people, Communist Russia is doing everything she can to turn these people against the so-called democracies of the world.

Just last week in one of the streets of a Nigerian city blood flowed in the gutters because of the hatred created by this same Communistic doctrine and because of people being unable to recognize once we move into a new era, an era of understanding, we may create a situation in the world that might well destroy all we have fought for.

I could go on and tell you many things I saw while I was in Asia. But there is another important thing, and that is the matter of the A-Bomb. You know the Soviets now say they have the A-Bomb. It is a very dangerous weapon to play with, very destructive, as many of you must know. But the thing that disturbs me most is the make-up of this bomb. You all know it is a combination of very small molecules that have a high explosive content, and when used with uranium can create conflagration and explosions that well might destroy the entire civilized world. So we have to face this in a spirit of deep gravity and understanding. I believe, as surely you must believe, that we must preserve world peace, not at any cost, but we can preserve it with intelligence, we can let the peoples of the world know that America is really the arsenal of democracy, we can let them know through our actions and our deeds that we live as one people here, so that when we think of America we think of that great American eagle which stands with its right foot on the Appalachians, his left foot on the Rockies, his tail dipped into the Gulf of Mexico and his beak pecking the icy shores of Alaska crying out welcome to all.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: On one occasion Willard Townsend called me from Chicago and stated we had some important business to discuss, and wanted to know if I could arrange to have dinner with him in the city of Washington. I readily accepted, and then I thought, well, in Washington we might have some little trouble because of racial discrimination. So I called a few friends into the office and I asked one where Willard Townsend, George Weaver, and I could have dinner in Washington without any commotion being created. One of them said the Green Lantern restaurant, and that sounded pretty reasonable, with the Green Lantern restaurant being owned by a man from China. I felt that he would not discriminate against an American-born Negro.

I checked with another man and he said to go to the Green Lantern. So the three of us journeyed to the restaurant and on the way in Willard Townsend said, "Do you think we will have any trouble here?" I said, "No, it has all been checked and everything is okay." To sum it all up, we didn't eat in the Green Lantern restaurant, we ate in Harvey's, so since that time I have had a lot of fun going into the main dining room of the Mayflower Hotel, the Willard Hotel, and other high-class restaurants in Washington practicing a little democracy.

And I find today, through the efforts of CIO and a number of other decent people that we are able to transform that capital of the democracies of the world into a city that to some degree at least practices some of the things it preaches.

I want to give my thanks to not only Willard Townsend, but to his associate, George Weaver, and a great number of others for contributing to our understanding of what Christianity really means. I believe the Convention has ably demonstrated its appreciation of the splendid message of Willard Townsend.

I would like at this time to present to the Convention the Chief Counsel of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, to provide a report to the delegates on the status of our National Labor Relations Board cases and any other message that comes to his mind that he believes will be of interest to the delegates of this Convention. He heads a very large department in the IUE-CIO headquarters. His department consists of a fellow serving a clerkship and the man I am about to present, Ben Sigal.

BENJAMIN C. SIGAL

Chief Counsel, IUE-CIO

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, delegates—I was going to add, fellow members of the bar, since it seems to me that when the present flurry of lawsuits is over many of you will have learned enough about the law to come out and practice yourselves. Perhaps I should advise the lawyers who are handling cases for you that they had better finish those cases very quickly, otherwise when the cases are concluded they are liable to have some very good competition from a new batch of labor lawyers.

Whether you are budding labor lawyers or members of the trade union movement you know something about what the relations of the courts to the organization of workers is, and how intimately they have been connected with such organization during American history. As a matter of fact, one of the most famous cases occurred right in this city about a hundred and fifty years ago, more or less, in which the courts had to come to the aid of

the embattled employers of Philadelphia to prevent some shoemakers from organizing. The court found it was a crime to organize into unions and strike, and from that time on in American history the courts have, from time to time, come to the aid of employers in their bitter struggle to deny workers their democratic rights.

About fifty years or so after this shoemaker case, it was no longer a crime to organize and strike, but it was still considered illegal, and the courts began to issue injunctions against unions which were striking. That happened from time to time for a hundred years thereafter, but in every case as far as I know, during that period, the employers or the federal government on their behalf were the ones who were seeking the aid of the courts in this struggle against democracy. However, with the beginning of the New Deal, the courts were considerably limited in the extent to which they could interfere with the right of workers to organize.

However, in the last two years we have had the sorry spectacle of the Taft-Hartley Act. I won't go into that except to mention, as you know, that the spectre of injunctions has again raised its head, and employers now, through the agency of Chief Counsel of the National Labor Relations Board, are again getting injunctions against unions.

Throughout this history it has been the anti-union employers, through one agency or another, that have gone to the courts seeking judicial help against unions. But now we have a new spectacle. Within the last few weeks a so-called labor organization has gone to the courts to prevent workers from exercising their democratic rights. That, I think, is a further demonstration of the fact that the UE has forfeited its claim to be known as a labor organization. Just one more demonstration of the fact, which our chairman has repeated time and time again, that the UE is an agent of the employers.

Let's get down to cases. One of the first cases against the IUE-CIO was filed here in Philadelphia. The UE went to court to get an injunction against James Carey, and Harry Block, and those associated with them against the use of the name "UE" or "UE-CIO" or "IUE" or any other combination of letters.

Now the court would not go for their line that nobody could use any combination of letters that had "UE" in it. The court threw out the request that we be enjoined from using the letters "IUE-CIO" or "International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers," but it did prevent us from using the letters "UE" or "UE-CIO." Of course we are not using them. That order applies only here to this eastern district of Pennsylvania. If they file a similar suit against you anywhere we want you to know that neither this court nor any other court where it has been tried has prevented the use of the letters "IUE" or the name, "International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO."

I think that suit presents a very interesting spectacle. It appears to me that we have finally convinced UE that it is going out of the picture. They have apparently been convinced that they were dead, as we have said, because all that they were now trying to do was to save a name to put on their epitaph; all they have left, so it appears, is the name.

Perhaps we ought not begrudge them the little that they have left in that name "UE" or in those letters. Perhaps it does stand for something now, say, "U" for "Union" and "E" for "Employers," or otherwise, "Union for the Employers."

Altogether at the present time, so far as I have kept count, we have about 40 cases, more or less, filed against us or against our locals throughout the country. There may be more. A number of them have been disposed of, but generally they follow a certain pattern. Where they can, first they have tried to enjoin our locals even from meeting. They tried to enjoin locals from meeting for the purpose of determining whether or not they wanted to disaffiliate. Imagine that! These breast-beating champions of democracy go into court to try to prevent American citizens, workers, from simply determining whether or not they want to belong to a voluntary association or withdraw from a voluntary association—the right of assembly guaranteed by the Constitution. These people who have been crying crocodile tears about the rights of citizens in a democracy have gone into court to defeat one of the very basic rights that all American citizens prize so highly.

Some of the courts have initially fallen for the argument that the UE has made, and in one or two cases, they have actually enjoined locals from meeting for the purpose of deciding whether or not the local unions should disaffiliate. With respect to one of these cases, our chairman used some rather strong and colorful language in saying what he thought of a court that would deny these fundamental rights of democratic citizens.

But so far, in most of the few instances where that has occurred, the courts have vacated those orders, and they now stand in only one or two cases.

Now there is another general objective in these lawsuits, and that is an effort by UE either to seize the property of the locals or to secure its return to those who claim they have a right to it, or to get contract rights, and so on. There, again, I think you see what appears to me to be the employer-mined attitude of the UE. You know that certainly under the Old Deal we were always complaining about the fact that courts were giving priority, were giving preference, to property rights over human rights. With President Roosevelt and the New Deal these courts were limited in the extent to which they could interfere with human rights. But here we have the UE going into court on the assumption that if the locals are put in danger of losing their property they would put that possible loss ahead of their desire to belong to the organization that they prefer; that they would, in other words, put property rights above human rights. I think that we have pretty definitely demonstrated to them that most of the members of UE and all of the members now of the IUE-CIO do put human rights above property rights. If they have to make a choice between the two they will choose their human right, their democratic right to associate with those with whom they see fit to associate, and to leave those whose association has become unbearable to them.

I do not want to give the impression, of course, that we are not going to fight with all the energy and skill at our command to save that property. We certainly don't want to give the UE any sinews of war, we don't want to give them the wherewithal to continue to harass and annoy and delay us. Certainly that is all their tactics can achieve. The UE may annoy us for a while, they may delay us for a while, but our movement is irresistible, and there can be no question about that. Right is on our side. Legal rights, we think we will show, are on our side, and most courts we think will so find. We will demonstrate that, though it will take some time. But again

I think we ought to emphasize that wherever the property may go in the end, we know that our supporters will not let such consideration deter them in casting their lot with the IUE-CIO.

So far as the present status of these suits in regard to property is concerned, there is a great variety of situations. In several cases the courts have dismissed them entirely. In other cases the courts have held that they will permit the union—that is, the IUE-CIO, sufficient funds to operate and will hold up the balance of the funds. In other cases, the courts have ruled that they will hold up all the funds, but in some of the cases where they did so rule they have already reversed themselves.

There is, of course, a third and most important aspect of all this litigation, and that is, who is the bargaining representative of the employees in the plants that were heretofore under contract with UE. That is a problem primarily for the National Labor Relations Board, and we have moved as fast as anyone could possibly move to get the Board to act. You know that so far as the three biggest employers in the industry are concerned, we have filed representation cases involving all of the units under contract with the UE heretofore, that is, Westinghouse, General Motors, and General Electric. In the case of Westinghouse, the company officials indicated that they meant what they said when they claimed they were not sure who was the bargaining agent, by filing their own petitions, which amount to about 75 in number, covering all of the present bargaining units covered under the UE contracts. We are rapidly proceeding under those petitions, and we confidently expect that all of the preliminary requirements will very soon be completed and that notices of hearings will issue.

Before I go on any further I think I have to emphasize, as has already been emphasized by the chairman, the fact that the Taft-Hartley Act requires all unions that want to use the services of the Board to file certain non-Communist affidavits, as well as other affidavits. Now the Board applies these requirements rigorously. It simply will not proceed with the investigation of any of our cases until it knows there are papers filed at its own offices showing that every IUE-CIO Local which is involved in a case has completed those requirements. To prevent any delay in the handling of Labor Board cases—and we will probably have them in a great majority of our locals—you must proceed immediately with the compliance procedures of the Taft-Hartley Act. We have sent out instructions on how to do this most quickly, so there will be no slip-up. Perhaps some of the latest affiliates have not received them. But bear this in mind. If you haven't already done so, get in touch with us and we will see that you get the instructions, because we have been delayed so far in the processing of some of our cases, by the failure of local unions to comply. Let me repeat, you must not lose any time in that respect, and if you need any advice don't hesitate to call on us for it.

So far as General Motors is concerned, we have likewise filed a petition there which is being processed, a petition for election in the various divisions of General Motors under the UE contracts. That has proceeded very rapidly and we confidently expect that those cases will soon be set down for hearing.

The last is the General Electric case. That needs some more preliminary work. It is not quite as far advanced as the others, but I take the liberty of saying that every GE Local that is affiliated with us will complete all the preliminary requirements within the next few days, so that there will be

no delay in that area, and we can then proceed without further loss of time to get hearings in GE.

We think that this case and all other cases involving the National Labor Relations Board provide a substantial challenge to the Board. CIO, as you know, has seriously criticized the Board and the General Counsel's office for what we think are unjustifiable interpretations and applications of the National Labor Relations Act, and we have criticized them for what we think are decisions unjustifiably favorable to the employers. We have, of course, denounced the Act in every direction. We cannot now change the Act, although we hope that will be done very soon.

But we have said to the Board, if it is true that you are carrying out the policy of the Taft-Hartley Act in the matter of eliminating Communist leadership from unions, now is the time for you to show it. You have the opportunity now to demonstrate whether or not you can so streamline your procedure, without depriving anybody of any right that is his, but to so streamline your procedures that you give us elections without galling delays.

We think it would be fantastic, where the great majority of the employees of scores and hundreds of employers no longer support the UE that they should be saddled with it as the bargaining agent for any extended period of time. We say there is nothing in the law which would prevent the Board from expediting these cases and giving us hearings quickly. We intend to stay on the doorstep of the Board, and in the offices of the Board, continually demanding the most expeditious action in that respect. We hope that the Board will rise to the challenge, so that the employees in these various plants will have the earliest possible opportunity to select a bargaining agent of their choice, and not have to continue to carry the incubus that they have been carrying for, lo, these many years.

These locals of the IUE-CIO represented here have already thrown that incubus off their shoulders, and we are saying to the Board, we have thrown that weight off our shoulders and we do not expect you to put any chains on our feet to prevent us from achieving stable industrial relations in the electrical industry as fast as possible, and there will not be stable conditions in that industry if you do not expedite the disposition of these cases.

There are a lot of legal problems that the IUE-CIO is going to face. I am not going to burden you with a discussion of those problems. You can rest assured that so far as our capacity is concerned we will do everything possible to help you out, and to help out the lawyers whom you have engaged to represent you locally. We will give every possible aid and cooperation in that direction, and of course we would expect from you, on the other hand, all the cooperation you can give us, so that we can proceed to clear up whatever legal problems you may have from time to time.

I must emphasize one thing in conclusion. We cannot let legal problems or present lawsuits worry us to the point where it interferes with our organizational efforts. Organization of the workers in the electrical industry is of course our major continuing objective, and we know you will not permit any temporary problem in regard to the law or your property interfere with your attaining that objective. The IUE-CIO stands now, and will continue to stand as an inspiration to the union-minded employees in the electrical industry. Thank you.

DELEGATE NOLAN, Local 321: I would like to have you answer me one question pertaining to the eligibility of the opposing union, which is

not existing, to file charges against the company for recognizing the new IUE, which disaffiliated itself from the UE, and joined up with the IUE 100 percent, where there are no local officers left in the old UE, how is it possible for any unfair labor practice charges to be preferred against the company?

GENERAL COUNSEL SIGAL: I would like to ask you a question. Is there a contract there?

DELEGATE NOLAN: When we dissolved we took over the money, lock, stock, and barrel, and everything else.

GENERAL COUNSEL SIGAL: Is there a contract in effect?

DELEGATE NOLAN: Yes, until the 22nd day of June, but in the resolution we had no international officers signatory to that contract. The resolution adopted at the dissolution, it was taken over 100 percent, the contract and everything else be taken over by the IUE.

GENERAL COUNSEL SIGAL: In answer to your question whether or not they can file charges of unfair labor practices against the company, of course they can file them. Anybody can file a lawsuit. We expect them to do so in various cases simply for the purpose of delay. It is our opinion in a case such as you have mentioned, where there is no question but that there has been a change in the affiliation of the local, so that the employer can in good faith say that there is a doubt as to who is the bargaining agent under the contract, we say that that employer is not guilty of an unfair labor practice; and the Board has only very recently held in a very similar case the employer is not guilty of an unfair labor practice for refusing to bargain with the so-called certified bargaining agent. So that in your case if an unfair labor practice charge has been filed our answer is the Board should throw that out and throw it out quickly.

The general practice of the Board is that where a representation case is pending and thereafter an unfair labor practice charge is filed, the representation case may be held up while the unfair labor practice is being investigated. What we have to do, of course, is to insist immediately in each one of these cases that the Regional Board quickly dismiss those charges and proceed with the representation case if there is one filed. Have I answered your question?

DELEGATE NOLAN: As I understood you to say, in order to get any recognition from the National Labor Relations Board, affidavits must be signed by the local officers of the union. When there are no officers left in that local union that has disaffiliated themselves, how can that old organization have any dealings with the National Labor Relations Board?

GENERAL COUNSEL SIGAL: If you are now talking about the UE, if they have no officers and no organization, obviously they cannot comply. If there are not enough people to organize a local obviously they cannot comply and could not start proceedings.

It may be in your case the International filed the charges. That is conceivable. Now the UE has complied and maybe in your case they have done that which has given them the basis of filing charges. That is the possible explanation in your case. I don't know as it would be wise to go into any more detail on your particular case. I thank you for the opportunity of explaining that, because we may have similar cases elsewhere and I think you ought to understand where unfair labor practices are filed causing situations that we will be confronted with where contracts exist, we

think they are all unjustified and should be quickly dismissed so the Board can proceed with the representation cases.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Should you have any local problems you might take advantage of the presence of Ben Sigal and raise the questions.

Fitzgerald in your case might go to Justice Kingsley and restrain your local from taking all the members away from the UE, and they will get a couple of International representatives and try to get some way of preventing democracy from operating. Don't forget judges can be wrong as well as Fitzgerald being wrong. I cited the example of Judge Kingsley giving a restraining order. I expressed some views calling on people to ignore the action of Judge Kingsley, that there was no justice in his court. He modified his order. However, he proceeded to call all the judges in the locality together to determine whether or not the public statement I had made was in contempt of court. The judges used the taxpayers' money to come to the decision I was not in contempt but I was definitely liable. I said in the course of that report, in that public statement, that our people ought to send them some pink carnations with stems shaped like sickles, because they were helping the Communist party. The judge was wrong in both instances; there was no libel connected with it, it was the whole truth with respect to his action; and as to being in contempt of Judge Kingsley's order he says no and the other judges say no. And I was; I was in contempt of their damned court, and I will be in contempt of any court that uses its position to penalize workers in their right of displacing Communist leaders with American workers in American trade unions.

DELEGATE CUSHING, Local 101: Inasmuch as the UE could find nothing against us or didn't have guts enough to take such action, we disaffiliated with the UE and became part of the IUE-CIO. At that particular point, Mr. Chairman, I would like very much for you to hear what I have to say. Reason No. 1, we in the month of November, and we had previously in October disaffiliated, we carried a necessary amount of money into court, and I would like to ask you, Mr. Chairman, with the legal advice we now have at hand, can we or can't we start a bank account in the name of IUE-CIO? That is a question that is very imperative in my mind.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I would like to suggest here that the delegates from 101 take the advice of Ben Sigal in a discussion they can arrange with him rather than divulge in open meeting what procedure you will follow in protecting your funds. I quite frankly myself say to you, not as a doctor of laws, not having attained that high degree, as a defendant in the courts of our country, that if you have some funds over which you exercise the role of a trustee or financial officer of the local union, make sure nobody, be they judge, be they Communists or anybody else, takes that money from you.

DELEGATE CUSHING: Thank you.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: And as to a judge determining the name of our organization, that privilege is denied anyone not a member of our union. No judge in any court in this land can tell CIO what name they shall inscribe on a charter issued by that CIO. And in the same respect I say to you this organization is going to survive only if the members participate in it and only if the members finance the organization in its operation. So if some judge who is not a member of your Local Union places you in a position you cannot pay your per capita tax to this International Union, you can believe your chairman that he is not going to accept that as an excuse. This

organization will be financed by its members, the actions of any court notwithstanding; and I quite frankly say to you that the funds collected as dues shall not be used for the purpose of establishing bail bonds for a man named Gerhardt Eisler, as was done in previous instances in this industry.

So don't let's get too damned legalistic about the formation of this Union. Don't be too concerned about somebody exercising or imposing a veto over the wishes of your membership.

I quite frankly say to you only three hundred and some restraining orders have been directed against your chairman—one today—but the first one has not been served he will pay the least little bit of attention to. There can be no restraints by some of the courts of the land that can be utilized to assist Matles, Emspak, and others preventing workers from organizing. For the courts to be used for that purpose by the very people trying to destroy the courts is something we must revolt against.

I think it is high time the delegates to this Convention and the local officers take some steps to defy these irresponsible actions by some irresponsible, confused, and ignorant judges. So make no bones about it, be not disturbed about some of these issues that are presented to you, because quite frankly we have a Secretary of this Committee that is prepared to receive the per capita tax of the Local Unions, and I think this organization deserves that kind of support, and I don't think you should permit any restraining order to stand in the way of your exercising your rights under Federal legislation to form your own Unions, Unions of your own choosing. Certainly we abide by the law, but the labor movement has a tradition of being opposed to injunctions or injunction judges, and when Fitzgerald gets an injunction out he is committing a crime against the labor movement, and those injunctions were supposed to impede our progress.

With your cooperation, we will provide the assistance necessary to make this organization function, financed by its members to carry on the work we have before us.

Local 101 need not be disturbed. I know Local 101 had this same issue before when it was decided the American Federation of Labor would exercise all its influence to prevent the Union from financing the United Electrical and Radio Workers back in 1936. We were not skilled in these legal devices, but that money we recognized was the property of our members. We still recognize that the contract, the finances, and the properties of the Local Union remain and will be the property of the membership and no one else, subject to the control and direction of the majority of members of the Local Union in a regular membership meeting or in whatever fashion the members desire to conduct their Local Union affairs.

The best they can get out of this, as I see it, through these injunctions, will be to disturb you, if you decide to be disturbed. They might get some delay, but so far, quite frankly we have expressed our views openly and above board. We think we understand what the Constitution of the United States provides, and we are willing to defend our interest against any enemies. And that is a statement similar to that made by President Murray on this platform. And I might advise you the CIO is not without influence in this country.

Could we now proceed to bring up a question that has been denied the delegates to UE Conventions down through the years? I refer to one of the important tasks of the CIO, its Community Services activity. Year after year

that Committee has asked for the opportunity to explain its program to the delegates representing Local Unions in the electrical, radio and machine manufacturing industry. Even though Albert Fitzgerald was a member of the CIO's Committee they would never permit a representative of that CIO Committee to appear before a Convention of workers in our industry for a short, simple, concise expression of view explaining the work of that important division of the CIO.

I would like at this time to call upon Irving Abramson to present the program of the CIO Community Services Committee.

DELEGATE MANUELLA, Local 701: A point of information, Mr. Chairman. We have an election coming up the 7th of December, and we have some officers or members of the left-wingers running for office. What I would like to know is do you think it advisable to go ahead and hold this election in our shop?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Will the delegate please come to the platform and we will have someone assigned to discuss the matter with him.

DELEGATE CUSHING, Local 101: I rise at this time to ask you, Mr. Chairman, can we establish a new bank account under the IUE-CIO without it being attached?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The answer is yes. If you want to establish a bank account under the name of IUE-CIO, that represents the wishes of your membership. I might say we have established bank accounts under the name of IUE-CIO, and will continue to do so.

DELEGATE CUSHING: Mr. Chairman, I might inform you this, we have established a bank account for the IUE-CIO, and we only did and carried out the wishes of the membership to the extent of the month of November. Now can they or can't they attach our bank account from the month of November on into lifelong lasting IUE-CIO?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: They can try.

DELEGATE CUSHING: Mr. Chairman, that doesn't answer my question. My question is very clear. Since we adopted by a unanimous vote, 5,000 members of our Union that attended a membership meeting, they advised us to drop out of the UE and join the IUE-CIO. Now since he have—and I hold in escrow, as everyone says—I hold six thousand of the UE that I refuse to put in the people's pockets for the month of November because we have declined our affiliation with the regular UE or the old UE. Now my question comes very bluntly, can we or can't we establish a bank account with the IUE without any court injunctions coming against it?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: There is no use getting into the situation of asking me what the future is going to bring. I can't guarantee you there will be no court injunctions. I can't guarantee you they won't try to restrain your funds. You ask the question can you establish a bank account. The answer is yes. As to guaranteeing you it will be protected, all I know is when one lawyer wins a case another lawyer loses one. As to protecting your funds, I suggest you take counsel with us without divulging the procedures to the public.

A DELEGATE: At this time I think 101 is out of order.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: 101 is my own Local Union; it is never out of order.

I would like, if you will, to consider that if you have a problem and it is not a problem that is applicable to all the Local Unions, that you do not

take up the time of this Convention to discuss a question that can be better discussed between the Local Union officers and the officers of the IUE-CIO. I will ask you to be considerate of the time of all the other delegates, who may not have an interest in the particular problem that you think is the most important problem facing humanity.

I would like the Convention to please be in order. Does anyone have a question?

A DELEGATE: I don't have a question on the legal procedure, but I am getting sort of mixed up in the way things are going. I would like to know under your order of business if you can present to the Convention a request that we bring in, because the UE let die such things as the Radio and Radio Parts Council. Under what order of business or what day will that be brought up?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: That matter was reported to the Convention and we are establishing immediately a Conference Board for General Electric, Westinghouse, and General Motors, to be followed by a Conference Board established in the other divisions of our industry.

I would like at this time to suggest that Harry Block proceed to convene a Conference covering the subject matter just raised, so we can proceed, as we stated, before the end of the Convention to call the delegates together in these various divisions of the industry in order to be organized in a collective bargaining basis.

At this time I would like to present to this Convention Irving Abramson, who has been rendering considerable service to the delegates of our Local Unions and the officers of our Local Unions and the membership. Irving Abramson is here for the purpose of expressing to you his views of the program of CIO Community Services.

IRVING ABRAMSON **CIO Community Services**

Mr. Chairman and members of IUE, it looks like this week you will have had a number of first timers. I am a first timer in the sense this is the first opportunity I have had to ever address a group of electrical, radio and machine workers, notwithstanding the fact that in 1941 President Murray appointed me as a chairman of a National Committee which has devoted itself to a program concerning the health and welfare needs of the CIO workers. And so of course I feel very much today like I have just broken through the iron curtain, and I relish this opportunity of briefly applying myself to telling you about a program that in the opinion of CIO is a bread and butter program.

I know you are dealing with many serious problems concerning the vitals of your organization, but when you go back now your workers and your members are going to want to know the kind of affirmative program you have with respect to all of their activities within a trade union. And so to begin with I should like to say the National CIO Community Services Committee sets forth the philosophy that the responsibilities of a trade union toward its membership do not end when the worker leaves his job, nor does it end when the worker becomes unemployed. And we say to the membership and to the working class people and to the members holding a trade union card in their pocket, that the person who becomes unemployed and goes around with an empty stomach is the first potential of a scab, if you

don't look after his needs. So therefore we have developed a philosophy and a program to carry out that philosophy to consider that when a worker leaves his shop CIO looks after his problems both within the community and within the family.

I would like to briefly review the history of the CIO Community Services Committee and set forth the program that I think is of service to your members and a bread and butter program.

You remember in the year back in 1940 before our war began this business of soliciting funds from workers for many of your community fund-raising campaigns was that of the employers coming around and getting the money from your members and the next day publishing in the newspapers your company so-and-so had given so much money. There had been no identification at that time with the activities of a local union towards the fund-raising activities. Not only that, CIO said to these fund-raising organizations, "We not only have no identification with the fund-raising activities, but we have no participation in the expenditure of these monies." And so we said, "You should as a whole family participate in fund-raising activities—No. 1, if we are identified with them and, No. 2, if we have representatives on the various Boards of Trustees throughout the country and on the Community Chests." And I know the delegates to this Convention will be gratified to hear that in the eight years the CIO Community Services Committee has devoted itself to this program, as against 200 members of CIO on various Boards of Trustees we had in 1940, today we can boast of 8,000 CIO members on the various Boards of Trustees and various Community Chests around the country.

I don't know—and I hope you will forgive me if I say this—I don't know whether we all have a full appreciation of the significance of that fact. I don't know whether we all appreciate the significance of having 8,000 CIOers on the various Boards of communities where there is represented the professions, the bankers, yes, the employers, engaged in a common community undertaking, for the first time perhaps in many communities, seeing CIO in a new light, in a constructive light; and I would say it is a contribution not only to the welfare of CIO members but to public relations welfare, and the welfare of getting better collective bargaining.

Another part of the program that is important to you people working in the shop, week in and week out you have fund-raising campaigns knocking on your door; today it may be Red Cross, tomorrow the Community Chest, the next day cancer, tuberculosis, and so on. The workers of CIO through our Community Services Committee are saying to the country, "You have got to federate your campaigns, and we want one campaign a year to take care of all the problems in our community, and we don't want an organization coming around every week for a different program." And when I say that, it must include the Red Cross, because I think the time has come when even an organization of that kind, with sound objectives, with objectives CIO supports, must no longer isolate itself from the community in fund-raising activities and participation of the working people. We have a right to say to that organization doing a great job, "Yes, we agree with your objectives, but we want to have less silk hats on these chapters and more CIOers, and you have to be part of the Community Chest campaigns and no longer isolate yourself from the rest of the community."

No. 2, the real bread and butter part of our program was manifested by David McDonald, secretary-treasurer of the CIO Steelworkers, when at the last Cleveland Convention—and I say this with some degree of immodesty, as chairman of that committee—in referring to the steel strike he said there had been many organizations making a contribution to the Steelworkers' organization, but the one organization, CIO Community Services, had made a greater contribution than any other organization he knew. That statement is an indication of the work done by CIO Community Services Committee which you must understand if you are to be of service to your people who are out on strike, because it is the job of CIO and this Committee and the members to take care of the people unemployed, regardless of the cause of unemployment, and our program is to take care of them only on the basis of need.

And so I say to you briefly here, form a Community Services Committee in your organization. See to it that they understand the program, because Community Services Committee means that the health and welfare problems of your people in the community must be taken care of. See to it that in your municipality you form commissions for full employment and you take part in those commissions. See to it in your municipality and in your State the public welfare standards are raised and increased, because it is to the shame of America that many State laws provide as low as \$8 a month for public relief. Not only do they require that low standard of payments but in many cases they require workers to sell their soul before they are eligible for benefits. They require paupers' oaths; they require you to give all of your insurance; if a man has nothing else between him and death but a \$500 insurance policy you will be required to transfer that to the Welfare Board. That must be eliminated.

So you have a cause that contemplates improving the health and welfare standards of our members and their families, and that can be done through the Community Services, and see that your people get the benefit of it and have a better health and welfare organization within the CIO.

Thank you. (Applause.)

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Chairman Carey made a number of miscellaneous announcements and gave the times and places of committee meetings.

Reception Committee for Rabbi Leon Lang, Wednesday morning, November 30:

John Callahan, Local 255, Chairman
Louis Ginsburg, Local 118
Frank Hogencamp, Local 117
Priscilla Halmagi, Local 722
Russell Yarman, Local 711
Frank Stackhouse, Local 1001

CHAIRMAN CAREY: We will have with us tomorrow morning the Secretary of the Navy who I understand has prepared an address directed to the interests of the delegates to this Convention and the workers in the electrical, radio and machine manufacturing industry, that produces the great quantities of the important materiel used by the Navy. The Honorable Francis P. Matthews will address our Convention tomorrow morning. He has a rather tight schedule in terms of meeting another commitment,

and he asks we arrange our Convention proceedings so that he will be able to be with us tomorrow morning and then leave for St. Paul. So if the matter before the Convention is of a nature that can be interrupted at the time the Secretary of the Navy will be with us, we will present Secretary Matthews to the Convention immediately upon his arrival.

The following committee will assemble in Room C-8, sixth floor of the Broadwood Hotel at 9:30 on Wednesday to meet and escort the Secretary of the Navy to the Convention Hall:

Dallas Smith, Local 901, Chairman
Lewis Cummings, Local 101
Chas. Brady, Local 434
Loretta Toner, Local 707
Leo Benoit, Local 202
Raymond Klos, Local 1104

A DELEGATE: Do we get it straight you are going to have Brother Block convene a conference of radio and radio parts?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: That is correct. I will convey to Brother Block the message so he can proceed to get it established in an orderly manner.

The following reception committee will meet in Room C-8 on the sixth floor of the Broadwood Hotel at 1:30 o'clock p. m. to escort the Honorable Maurice Tobin, Secretary of Labor, to the Convention Hall:

Fred Kelley, Local 201, Chairman
David Neish, Local 102
Elmer Michel, Local 316
Patsy Caporal, Local 434
Robert Loeffler, Local 502
L. W. Wornstaff, Local 768

We will also have with us tomorrow the Honorable W. Stuart Symington, Secretary of the Air Force. The following committee will assemble in Room C-8 on the sixth floor of the Broadwood Hotel tomorrow at 2:45 o'clock p. m.:

John Dillon, Local 425, Chairman
Edward Drinzyk, Local 247
Harold Merrell, Local 416
Francis Galli, Local 602
James Click, Local 1102
William Mawherr, Local 763
Anthony Mannino, Local 227

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR STRIKING MEMBERS OF LOCAL 445

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Local 445 has been on strike for eight weeks. In the opinion of your Chairman we should authorize that Local Union to arrange either today at this session or as the delegates leave at the adjournment of this session, or tomorrow, to take up a collection to assist them in meeting the problems confronting them.

I realize a great number of locals are restrained by injunction judges from contributing their mite to the welfare of other workers. I would suggest Fitzgerald and his associates certainly do not restrain the effort of the workers to contribute to the successful settlement of the present

strike of this Local Union. In the meantime we are asking that the delegates contribute to this collection.

The business of this session is now at an end. We will meet tomorrow at 9:30 in this hall.

Thank you for your cooperation.

(Whereupon, at 5:15 o'clock p. m. the Convention stood recessed until tomorrow morning, Wednesday, November 30, 1949, at 9:30 o'clock a. m.)

THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY MORNING SESSION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

November 30, 1949

The Convention was called to order by Chairman Carey at 10 o'clock a. m.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Gentlemen, it is a great honor to our International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, to be able to hear an invocation this morning by a distinguished guest. This man of God knows the problems of the working people. He served as a member of the Newark Labor Board for four years during the days of NRA. He was the President of the Rabbinical Assembly of America in 1940 and again in 1941. His Government recognized his talents last summer when he was selected with two Protestants and a Catholic to go to Europe to study the problems of Chaplains in the European theatre. He is the editor of a quarterly, "Conservative Judaism." It is a distinct pleasure to present for the invocation at this session of the Convention the Rabbi of the Beth El Congregation, Rabbi Leon Lang.

INVOCATION

RABBI LEON LANG: O Heavenly Father, we are grateful to Thee for all of Thy gifts, the rich bounty of our blessed land, the material resources which are munificent. Thy providence in providing the capacities of human mind, of heart, and of the labor of our hands by which the well-being of our country and of our Nation are established. Thy gifts bless every day of our lives. They are Thy endowment, and therefore, O God, teach us that we may share these gifts together for our mutual welfare and for the mutual advance of Thy kingdom upon earth.

Grant, O God, that in these days of turmoil the leadership of our country, the leadership amongst those who work together, whether they own wealth, whether they administer it, or whether they labor side by side to produce it—grant them, O God, the vision, the determination and the capacity to establish the kind of relationship of measures of adjustment by which we may advance together for our mutual interest.

Above all, O Heavenly Father, Thou hast given us the cherished gift of freedom. Help us to preserve it in our midst. Help us to spread its blessings to all lands who yearn for freedom and who need it so sorely, in lands where it has been denied them by those who would grasp power and have utilized it to the hurt of humanity.

Help us, O God, to keep our hands, our minds and our hearts strong, that this freedom shall never perish neither in our land nor elsewhere.

Be Thou, O God, in the deliberations of this convention. Permit those who are assembled, their leaders and their co-workers to formulate the plan that will carry out Thy will and bring happiness to themselves, to the Nation at large and to humanity.

May this be Thy will, O God—Amen.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, Fred Kelley, of Local 201.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Delegate Fred Kelley, Chairman of the Committee, reported as follows:

Resolution No. 3

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, the scores of thousands of workers in the electrical, radio and machine industry deserve vastly improved working and wage conditions of this fabulously wealthy industry, and

WHEREAS, for years, these workers were deprived of much needed benefits because their psuedo leaders were devoting their time to the Communist cause, and

WHEREAS, these workers are now under the banner of an organization whose loyalty is to its members, and

WHEREAS, the great majority of decent American trade unionists demand union shops;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, with the united support of its members, pledges itself to an unstinting effort to bring its members their just needs in wages, working conditions, union security and social progress, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That every member of IUE-CIO, every officer, every committee member, every member of the staff is hereby mobilized to carry out this program to victory.

The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote of the Convention.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: At this time the Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Constitution for a partial report—Delegate Harry Block, Local 101.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION

Committee Chairman Block reported as follows:

Preamble

We, the Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, realize that the struggle to better our working and living conditions is in vain unless we are united to protect ourselves collectively against the organized forces of the employers.

Realizing that the old craft form of trade union organization is unable effectively to defend the interests and improve the conditions of the wage earners, we, the Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, dedicate this organization to uniting all workers in our industry on an industrial basis, regardless of craft, age, sex, race, nationality, or creed. We shall pursue at all times a policy of aggressive struggle to improve the working and living conditions of all workers in our industry.

We, the Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, further realize that the preservation of our freedom and the advancement of our economic well being

require that our democratic institutions and our civil rights and liberties be preserved, strengthened and extended, and that they be protected against their totalitarian enemies.

We pledge ourselves to perpetuate our Union, and to work concertedly with the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and through it with other labor organizations, for the advancement of the objectives herein set forth.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends the adoption of the preamble.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's report.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair recognizes the delegate in the rear.

DELEGATE PETERSON, Local 425: I think before we start to discuss the preamble or any part of this constitution it should be put to the membership, the question of whether it is advisable or not at this time to adopt a constitution. If the Chair will recognize me for the purpose of making a motion I will move at this time that the Convention does not adopt the constitution.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair recognizes that the delegate is in order to discuss the question of whether or not this Convention shall at this time adopt a constitution. I might say, however, that I believe it is the intent of the Committee on Constitution to recommend that this constitution be considered a provisional constitution, some sections of which may be held inoperative until the first Constitutional Convention of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO.

DELEGATE MORTON, Local 524: I don't know whether the motion was seconded, not to have a constitution. I would like to speak against that because I don't know how you are over on this side, but before we are certified as locals in this Union it is essential that we must have a constitution. We realize that we have had a provisional constitution, but if I understand the Brother's motion correctly we would not have a constitution after this Convention, and I would like to speak definitely against that and say that we must come out of this Convention with a constitution to protect us when we go before the Labor Relations Board for certification for our locals.

One point I would like to raise before I leave the mike, and that is that I found yesterday—and I see the same thing happening today—resolutions put on the floor here, and about two minutes after the resolution is passed we get copies of it.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Will the delegate prefer to take charge of some of the affairs of this Convention? The Chairman is not going to accept the unfounded criticism of a delegate who does not understand what we are doing. At no meeting to my knowledge was there any suggestion that we operate without a constitution. We now have a provisional constitution, we have had that since October 31st, and we will continue to have a provisional constitution.

As to the distribution of matters considered by the Convention I think the ushers are doing a reasonably good job, and I suggest that perhaps Delegate Morton can render some assistance to have them improve their efficiency in that respect. I am not defending the excellent work of those engaged in the distribution of material, and I appeal to you, Delegate Morton, to render them what assistance you can to help them meet your perfect standard.

DELEGATE MORTON: I will be glad to help them. I am merely saying that we are getting the literature after it has been discussed a minute or two, and if we can get it a minute or two before I will be glad to help these boys out.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair recognizes the delegate in the rear.

DELEGATE BOWMAN, Local 601: To get myself clear on what is on the floor right now, if there is a motion on the floor not to have a provisional constitution I wish to speak against it. If that is not the motion on the floor I would like you to inform me.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair suggests that it is a subject matter for discussion. There is no motion on the floor other than the recommendation of the Committee. The Chair states that you can discuss at this time the question as to whether or not we should adopt a constitution at this Convention.

DELEGATE BOWMAN: Is that what the motion is, not to adopt?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The motion before the Convention is the adoption of the Committee's recommendation. They recommended to this Convention a preamble to the constitution, and a delegate asked the question whether or not it is proper to discuss at this time the question of whether this Convention shall adopt a constitution. The Chair has indicated it is quite proper to discuss that matter. The motion before the Convention is the adoption of the Committee's recommendation for a preamble to our constitution.

The Chair recognizes the delegate who asks a question of parliamentary inquiry.

DELEGATE PETERSON, Local 425: At this time I wish to speak against the adoption of a constitution. In the first place, I understand that in order to be certified to appear before the National Labor Relations Board you do have to have a constitution, and in accordance with the regulations of the law the constitution was submitted. I can understand this and am in full accord with it. However, there has just been put on the table some 29 pages of the constitution. All these years we have been yelling for democracy. I feel that the cause of democracy can be served in the best possible manner by giving this out to the people in the locals for discussion. We don't want to adopt anything at this time that would be a hasty measure which could possibly in the future act against us.

I understand this is a provisional constitution. Nevertheless, when once you are saddled with anything, even though it be provisional, you do have the difficulty of changing it, and further than that, it is there to guide us. So that if we in our haste should adopt a constitution at this time we will be saddled with it, and I do fear that possibly through haste, through error, even though we have all good intentions, through error we might make the mistake of adopting something which might not possibly be for the general good.

I recall how we pointed that out in the New York Convention. The UE was on its move to pull out of the CIO, and we used the illustration that here were the banners and nowhere in the Convention was the CIO. This was a true contention, as it proved later, that it was the purpose of the UE to divide American labor. And yet we saw Matles get up and ridicule our entire statements and do a terrific job. We know that the Communist party, working against us, if we don't give them reasons they will create them and make up things. But at least these we can answer, we can refute, we

can beat down. But if you adopt a constitution with some mistake in it, some grievous error, you don't know to what use they will put it.

Furthermore, we have felt that we should take nothing in the way of definite action until all the people who are outside are in with us and have a part in the formation of this Union. We are saying to them that you can come into this organization and formulate whatever policies you want in regard to the constitution. At the present time this must obviously be based on other constitutions, and yet we don't want something based on other constitutions which other Unions have used. We want in this new movement the most democratic form of constitution it is possible to conceive, and that's the manner in which we should act.

I believe this should be submitted to us, but we should take this back to our Local Unions and submit it to our membership and then make recommendations from our Locals, so that when we come to a Constitutional Convention we will have a definite constitution with suggestions and recommendations and we will all be thoroughly familiar with it, and in our haste we will make no mistake, because by that time we will know what we are doing.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair recognizes the officers of the Committee on Constitution.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: Mr. Chairman, I would like to speak more as a delegate to this Convention than as Chairman of the Committee.

I don't think, now that we are assembled, that we should continue with a provisional constitution drafted by an Administrative Committee when you have the opportunity now to set up the machinery yourselves. The constitution contains many items. Local Unions back home are interested in them. The delegates here are interested in them. To continue with a constitution, even though it be a provisional one, indefinitely until our next convention, does not give the Local Unions the opportunity that they should have to vote upon a national constitution which will be binding on them for that period of time between this Convention and our First Constitutional Convention.

This constitution now before us contains matters such as per capita tax, initiation fees, the spelling out of the duties of officers, spelling out the various geographical districts which may or may not be in the organization, and I think every Local Union, including the one Brother Peterson comes from, is definitely interested in having a constitution to work with, one that will be of some direction.

Now whether you adopt it here or whether you operate under a provisional constitution set up by the Administrative Committee, I think from a democratic standpoint it is far better the delegates vote upon it than merely go along and say the constitution drawn up by the Administrative Committee is okay and we will just continue to live under it until we have our First Constitutional Convention.

Therefore I believe we should proceed with the adoption of a constitution, provisional or otherwise, and we can make changes from time to time at regularly constituted conventions.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: In view of the explanation made by the Chairman of the Committee, and perhaps some additional information such as this provisional constitution is not new to the Local Unions—the Local Unions have had this provisional constitution available, it has been used for the purpose

of filing with the National Labor Relations Board. They received certification from the Board of the Department of Labor as qualifying under the provisions of the law. It would be well, I believe, that the Committee proceed to give its report and we discuss, after you have the full information regarding the contents of the Committee's report, whether or not you desire to continue the constitution as a provisional constitution, with modifications made by this Convention, or decide to adopt the constitution as the constitution of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, CIO, with some provisions held inoperative until the Constitutional Convention.

I would suggest that we proceed, but give guidance to the Administrative Committee by considering the recommendations of the Committee, because it is work that will have to be performed either now or sometime in the future. I therefore recommend to this Convention that you consider at this moment the adoption of the preamble to the constitution, and at the end of the Committee's report you make your determination as to whether or not the provisional constitution shall be changed by you or made inoperative, or held in abeyance to a future date. Your Administrative Committee respectfully requests that you consider the provisional constitution that they have been using in your behalf, and that you consider the modifications, if any, recommended by the Constitution Committee.

I therefore place before this Convention the question of the Committee's report. Do you approve the preamble recommended by the Constitution Committee and uphold the recommendation of the Administrative Committee in this respect?

On the question, all those in favor of adopting the Committee's report signify by saying aye; those opposed.

The ayes have it unanimously, and it is so ordered.

At this time I interrupt the Committee's report to announce that Secretary of Navy Matthews is fog-bound and our last report indicates he will be unable to land at the airport in Philadelphia. I merely make this announcement for your information and the information of the members of the press that we do not expect Secretary Matthews to be at our session here this morning.

The Committee will proceed.

Committee Chairman Block continued the report of the Constitution Committee as follows:

ARTICLE I

Name

Section A. This organization shall be known as the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) The International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) may also be briefly referred to as the IUE-CIO. It is sometimes referred to herein as the Union.

Section B. This organization shall be affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

The Committee recommended the adoption of Article I as read, and the Committee's recommendation was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE II

Object

Section A. It shall be the object of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) to protect, maintain and advance the interests of the workers within its jurisdiction, and, to this end, to unite all such workers in this industrial union, without regard to craft, age, sex, race, nationality or creed.

Section B. It shall be the object of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) to support and cooperate with the Congress of Industrial Organizations in promoting its principles and those of this organization.

The Committee recommended adoption of Article II as read; and the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE III

Jurisdiction

Section A. The jurisdiction of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) shall consist of the employees of any manufacturer of electrical machinery, appliances, and products, tools and dies, machine tools and allied products, and of employees engaged in the service and repair and installation of electrical machinery and equipment.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption.

DELEGATE WALTER, Local 165: I would like to take exception, Mr. Chairman, or rather, draw the attention of this Convention to the wording of the last part of that sentence, "and of employees engaged in the service and repair and installation of electrical machinery and equipment."

In the beginning of this section we set forth, for instance, tools and dies, and machine tools, and so forth and so on, and yet at the end of it we say we are only going to cover employees that are going to be installing electrical equipment. I think we should cover all employees that will install any of this equipment over which we maintain we have jurisdiction. I wonder if that could not be misinterpreted and cause a restriction on a number of our Locals. Local 165—in the old UE we were 155—we cover quite a number of trades, we are an amalgamated Local, for instance, one part of our shop manufactures restaurant equipment. They certainly must have men who install that restaurant equipment also.

I think that should be broadened out a little so it would not restrict any of our amalgamated Locals.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: If the recommendation of the Committee did not adequately cover the point raised by the delegate, I would suggest a modification. However, it appears to me this is one Union that does not take the position that it has too many members. I think the recommendation of the Committee completely covers in very clear and concise language the question of repair and installation of the equipment produced in our industry. I don't think we will have any trouble properly defining this paragraph to meet all the questions raised by the delegates.

On the question, the motion is to adopt the Committee's recommendation. All those in favor signify by saying aye; those opposed.

The ayes have it unanimously, and it is so ordered.

ARTICLE IV

Membership

Section A. All persons whose normal occupation is in the electrical, radio and machine industry, as defined in Article III hereof, are eligible for membership to the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), regardless of skill, age, sex, nationality, color or religious beliefs.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption.

I want to call the delegates' attention to what the Chairman said before, that you have a draft of the constitution before you, and that the Committee's report would not necessarily be the same as the one before you. That article has been changed so that "political belief or affiliation" is left out and it ends as follows, "nationality, color or religious beliefs."

CHAIRMAN CAREY: On the question, all those in favor of adoption of the Committee's recommendation signify by saying aye; opposed no.

The ayes have it and the Committee's recommendation is adopted.

ARTICLE V

Officers

Section A. No individual shall be eligible to hold office in the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), or in any local union affiliated therewith, who is a member of the Communist Party or who consistently pursues policies and activities directed toward the achievement of the program or the purposes of the Communist Party, or of any other totalitarian or fascist organization.

The Committee recommended adoption of Section A, and the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

Section B. The officers of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) shall be the President, the Vice-President, the Secretary-Treasurer, and a District President from each of the geographical districts described in Article XI of this Constitution. The Executive Board shall be composed of the President, the Vice President, the Secretary-Treasurer, the District Presidents and the District Secretaries who are designated by the respective districts. Three Trustees shall also be elected, but they shall not serve on the Executive Board.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption.

DELEGATE KELLEY, Local 113: I would like to ask, Mr. Chairman, thinking upon the changing of the status of officers whereby we have eliminated an Organizational Director—and I presume from the reading here the Vice President—and this is only a presumption on my part—would take over the organizational activities. Is there any thinking along that line or can I have some reasoning behind the change?

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: In the previous organization, as we knew it, the President was a mere figurehead, the Organizational Director was a dictator. In this constitution we propose, and it will be proposed to the Convention, that the President be the chief officer of the organization, and he is charged with the duties of organizing the unorganized and seeing that the Locals do get representation and proper services. The Chairman or

President of the organization does in the constitution have the power to assign certain of his duties to the Vice President, but the President will be the responsible officer as far as organizational activities are concerned.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: You have heard the recommendation of the Committee. The motion is to adopt. All those in favor of adopting the Committee's recommendation signify by saying aye; those opposed.

The ayes have it unanimously, and it is so ordered.

Section C. TERM OF OFFICE.

The terms of the Officers shall end October 31st, and the Trustees and Executive Board shall have all records of the Convention in order that the business of the Union shall function in an orderly manner from November 1st.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption.

DELEGATE BLECHINGER, Local 101: On this follow-up Convention we are having months hence, at that time if there is an election of officers, which would probably be the early part of the year, that means that the term of those officers would expire as of October 31st of 1950—am I right on that?

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: We are adopting a Constitution setting out not only the first term of office but the terms of officers from now on out, and if we have a Constitutional Convention and elect officers then they will serve up until October 31st of that particular year.

DELEGATE BLECHINGER: Thank you.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The motion is to adopt. On the motion, all those in favor of the adoption of the Committee's report signify by saying aye; those opposed.

The ayes have it unanimously, and it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee is still debating Section D in its entirety, so we will pass that over and make a report on that later on.

Now go to Article VI, the Duties of the President and Vice President.

ARTICLE VI

Duties of the President and Vice President

Section A. The President shall be the Chief Executive Officer of this Union. Between sessions of the Executive Board he shall have full power to direct the affairs of the Union.

Subject to the approval of the Executive Board, the President shall have the authority to appoint, direct, suspend or remove such organizers, representatives, and employees as he may deem necessary, and fix their compensation.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Committee has modified the provisional constitution. The Committee's recommendation is before the Convention.

A DELEGATE: I would like him to read that section over again, if you don't mind.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The change I read is as follows: "Subject to the approval of the Executive Board, the President shall have the authority to appoint, direct, suspend or remove such organizers, repre-

sentatives, and employees as he may deem necessary, and fix their compensation."

It makes the President report his actions to the Executive Board for their approval.

DELEGATE CALLAGHAN, Local 445: I know that we have excluded from office any member of the Communist party. Is there any intention to also exclude any organizers from the Communist party?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The answer is yes.

DELEGATE CALLAGHAN: Will that be part of the constitution?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: We cannot anticipate what the Committee will recommend on that subject. I can advise you, however, and I have reason to believe the Administrative Committee as well as the Constitution Committee is prepared to recommend to this Convention that no Nazi, Communist or Fascist shall represent this organization in any capacity.

DELEGATE BERRY, Local 105: Mr. Chairman, it is my impression the question of fixing compensation is still under discussion in the Constitution Committee.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: There is no recommendation in the Committee's report presented to this Convention this morning fixing the compensation. There is a recommendation suggested that we modify the provisional constitution to the extent of making the President answerable to the Executive Board for the determination and fixing of compensation. The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: When it comes to fixing compensation, this constitution will have certain guideposts within it. The President will, in accordance with the constitution, fix salaries as spelled out in the constitution. They might have one or more, or there may be a range. It merely says whatever is set he must work within and he must report his actions to the Board. This does not give and will not give the President the power to go out of the salaries as set within the constitution by this Convention when it acts upon it at a later date.

DELEGATE DECHANT, Local 119: Mr. Chairman, I would like to bring to the attention of the delegates to this Convention that the words "subject to the approval" can be interpreted several different ways, in my opinion. Does that mean the President of the International Union can first dismiss any officer or representative or organizer and then have the approval of the Board later, or does he have to have the approval of the Board before he dismisses them? I don't like the word "subject" first, because it can be interpreted two different ways. I think the Executive Board should be the ruling body of the organization, and it should act first.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: I think the first sentence of that paragraph answers it, that the President shall be the chief executive officer, and between sessions of the Executive Board he shall have full power to direct the affairs of the Union. That is power to operate between the sessions of the Executive Board. The only thing the second part says is after he has done things he shall make his report, so he is not any little dictator by himself.

DELEGATE DECHANT: I still say I don't approve of that part of the paragraph because we are saying we are setting up a democratic organization, and I think it gives too much power in the hands of one person.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Delegate, I don't quite understand whether you object to the President being subject to the Executive Board or whether you oppose the President being subject to the Executive Board. I understood you to take issue with the word "subject." Now "subject to the Executive Board's decision" is pretty clear—at least as clear as the English language will permit. It states the President shall be guided and his actions determined and he shall seek the approval, and if he cannot get the approval of the Executive Board, the Executive Board has the power to reinstate the situation and direct the President to follow the course directed by the Executive Board.

DELEGATE DECHANT: That is what I thought would be the interpretation, and I don't agree with that interpretation.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Does the delegate have a suggestion to make that will be an improvement over the Committee's suggestion?

DELEGATE DECHANT: My suggestion is the Board should act before the President acts. He should recommend to the Board the dismissal of the individual, and why. In America we don't penalize people before they are tried. I think he should have a right to a trial before being dismissed or penalized. I think the chairman should present to the Board charges of an organization, of an officer. That is my opinion, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I don't find that the Committee recommends that an officer shall be dismissed or suspended by the President. Will the delegate please clarify?

DELEGATE DECHANT: Mr. Chairman, it says, "organizers, representatives, and employees as he may deem necessary." They are people that are employed, they have a right to a grievance. I don't think they should be discharged before they are heard, and I believe the Executive Board, or the members elected by this Union to the Executive Board, should have the right first before any person should fire them. I don't think any person should have the right to fire them first. I think they should be given a trial.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Give them a trial before you appoint them?

DELEGATE DECHANT: I mean before you discharge them.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The delegate stated in his remarks earlier that under this provision the President would have the right to remove an officer. I call to the attention of the delegate that is not the way I understood the Committee's report. You are reading from a draft that has been modified by the Committee.

DELEGATE DECHANT: I would like to read the draft as read by the chairman of the Committee.

"Section A. DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT. The President shall be the chief Executive Officer of this Union. Between sessions of the Executive Board he shall have full power to direct the affairs of the Union. Subject to the approval of the Executive Board, the President shall have the authority to appoint, direct, suspend, or remove such organizers, representatives, and employees as he may deem necessary. He shall fix their compensation, subject to the approval of the Executive Board."

The thing I am objecting to is, the word "subject" in there can be interpreted, the Chair can dismiss the person before the Executive Board meets—and I would like to have it clarified. I am opposing the idea the Chairman can interpret that in his own mind. I think the person should have a right to a trial before the Board before he is dismissed.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: I think the Convention must realize that if there is an organizer, or if there is a representative, or if there is an employee who commits acts or deeds against the Union, that you are not going to keep him on the payroll for the next two and a half months until the Board meets. You are not going to pay him and tell him to sit at home. And, by the same token, if the President unjustly acts between those Board meetings there should be somebody, some group of people, to put a check rein on him and make him reverse his position. So if we have a situation where somebody should be removed for a good cause, he is removed, and if he was removed unfairly the Executive Board will reverse any action taken by any President.

Now I think it is important—we are not speaking of elected officers, we are speaking of employees hired to do a job—I think the delegates would be the first ones to raise the roof with any officer who had the power to fire an individual who did not fire him if he was not doing his job properly, and by the same token I think we all want to be fair to the individual and say if he was unjustly dismissed he would have some recourse, and the recourse is spelled out that the Executive Board will act upon the actions of the President, either sustaining him or rejecting him.

DELEGATE KELLEY, Local 113: May I suggest to Brother Block and the Committee since his interpretation of Section A is that all the activities of the President shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Board, that we strike it out in two individual places and that at the end of the paragraph say, "The foregoing activities or operations"—or whatever term they care to use—"they shall be subject to the Executive Board."

Now I understood from Brother Block's interpretation that is the thinking of the Committee. I would also like to suggest to bring out or clarify the Brother's position, is it the intention to set up further machinery for such appeals on dismissal?

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The machinery for hearing any appeal on dismissal or any action of the Union, other than a regular trial where charges are preferred, are heard by the Executive Board on charges between Conventions. Therefore the machinery you speak about is set up in the Constitution by an Executive Board having authority to act.

Trying to answer your first point, I would like to re-read that sentence, a few words of it at the beginning. We only use the words "subject to the approval of the Executive Board" once, and then all actions following are subject to the approval of the Executive Board. As it read before there was quite some comment in the Committee's mind as to whether or not only the compensation would be subject to the approval of the Executive Board but that all his other actions would be free from the Executive Board. The Committee has taken all that into consideration and started the sentence as follows: "Subject to the approval of the Executive Board, the President shall have the authority" to do certain things, that is, to hire, fire, fix compensation.

Now you are either going to give it to the President without any check reins or you put the Executive Board in there to call the shots when the President steps out of line, and between Conventions the Executive Board is the highest body of the organization, and between the Executive Board meetings the President makes the decisions; and I think that is the procedure.

The Committee feels there are enough safeguards in there that no President could go off base.

DELEGATE BLECHINGER, Local 101: The particular sentence in question that is causing this extended discussion, I think there should be some provision made to protect an organizer, representative or employee, that they would not have to wait two and a half or three months until the Executive Board would pass on their case. In that particular section there should be added in there, pertaining to the dismissal of organizers, and so forth, "The Executive Board should be immediately called into session."

I bring that up because in our own constitution in the Union, I as a President have no authority to discharge anyone or throw them out of the Union, or discharge any shop steward, unless the shop steward has the opportunity for a trial, or a member of the Union. Immediately a Trial Board is set up. The danger of making these people wait a long time until the Executive Board meets, the people will be subject to hardships. When the company tries to dismiss a person, we fight like blazes that the person should first have a hearing before the employee is discharged, rather than the company having a right to discharge him and then the company and Union sit down and come to an agreement. That person goes through hardships and financial difficulties. I think if we can insert in there at this particular point there should be a provision made that the Executive Board should be called into immediate session and not wait for a two and a half or three months' period. I think that would clear this thing up, Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Let me ask a question. Will this Committee be confronted with a problem of trying to meet all the past grievances that existed in their experience with the delegates? Quite frankly, I was the first President of the UE, I was also the last President of the UE. Since I was defeated in 1941 the UE has been without a President. Now your problems did not grow out of the fact that you had a President with too much authority, with the right to discharge people, the right to suspend organizers. I think perhaps the reverse is closer to the truth. The situation, I think, before you now is do you want to have a President, do you want to have a responsible functioning officer, or do you want your Executive Board to operate as a body in continuous session?

Now your situation is this, I see nothing wrong with the Committee's report. I think it is the kind of a provision that is contained in every Local constitution. Better than that, I know it is the kind of provision that is contained in every constitution of an International Union that I am aware of that has responsible officers governing the affairs of the Union between sessions of the Executive Board.

Now don't think that Fitzgerald is going to get to be elected President of this Union. I don't think you have to worry too much about the shortcomings of the past situation, if you provide your officers with the kind of a constitution that they can administer. There is nothing wrong, not a single solitary thing wrong with the recommendation of the Committee as I read it. All the acts of the officers and the President will be governed by the Executive Board. The President has to take his chances with that body that is set up superior to the position the President holds. *

Now I think it would be well to suggest, for the sake of argument, that you know of a situation where a worker was unfairly discharged by an

employer, but don't suggest we are going to have an employer as an officer of our Union.

Now just simply for the purpose of getting a unanimous vote before this Convention, I will suggest to you that there is nothing wrong with the recommendation of the Committee. It reads as follows: "The President shall be the chief Executive Officer of this Union." Do you want that? I think you do. "Between sessions of the Executive Board he shall have full power to direct the affairs of the Union." I think you want that—subject to some limitations which the Committee's report provides. And it says it just that way, "Subject to the approval of the Executive Board, the President shall have the authority to appoint, direct, suspend, or remove such organizers, representatives, and employees as he may deem necessary, and fix their compensation."

All of those things are subject to the approval of the Executive Board. I would suggest that you do something here in the constitution to make it possible for a President to function in your interest, with the necessary safeguards and checks that are provided in this Committee's report.

DELEGATE BOWMAN, Local 601: That is not the way it was originally read a few moments ago by Brother Block. We want that paragraph to read that the President shall have the power to discharge, and so forth and so on, subject to the approval of the Executive Board. That is not the way it was read originally, Brother Chairman. That is the way we would like to have it.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Since we are both reading from the same paper, I will ask the Committee Chairman to correct me if I am wrong. It reads as follows: "The President shall be the chief Executive Officer of this Union. Between sessions of the Executive Board he shall have full power to direct the affairs of the Union. Subject to the approval of the Executive Board the President shall have the authority to appoint, direct, suspend, or remove such organizers, representatives, and employees as he may deem necessary, and fix their compensation."

DELEGATE BOWMAN: Brother Chairman, if that is the way it is, I have no objections to it. That is not the way I understood it to be read originally.

DELEGATE HIGGINS, Local 103: A point of information. There is no way I know of we can get away from this headache about the organizers. I would like someone on the stage to tell the people who hires the organizers and who determines their qualifications.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Under this very democratic recommendation of the Committee I think the interests of the organization are adequately protected from a repetition of some experiences that confronted the workers in the electrical, radio and machine manufacturing industry.

Are you ready to vote? All those in favor of adopting the Committee's recommendation signify by saying aye; those opposed.

All those in favor of the Committee's recommendation please rise; all those opposed to the Committee's recommendation please rise.

The Chair is of the opinion the recommendation of the Committee is adopted, and it is so ordered.

ARTICLE VI, SECTION B

Section B. The President shall preside over Conventions and over all meetings of the Executive Board. He shall convene regular quarterly meetings of the Executive Board at his discretion, or when requested to do so

by a majority of the members of the Executive Board. The President shall appoint all sub-committees of the Executive Board. Between Conventions, and subject to reversal by the Executive Board, the President shall decide all questions involving the interpretation of this Constitution.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt Section B.

DELEGATE KRAUSS, Local 450: It says, "He shall convene regular quarterly meetings of the Executive Board at his discretion." Either there shall be regular quarterly Executive Board meetings or there shall not be. I think we should spell out if we want regular quarterly meetings, and then if at his discretion matters of importance come up in between he can call additional meetings. But I think it is meaningless this way, because it does not spell out that there shall be any meetings, because "at the discretion of the President," there isn't any need of a meeting for a whole year, the way this reads.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: Quarterly meetings are mandatory. We use the words "they shall be held." Whether or not they will be on the first Saturday or the second Tuesday is where the discretion of the officer calling the meetings comes in, so that he will not be accused of not having followed the constitution. It will be the same three months' period exactly each time that the Board meetings will take place, but he has that discretion, whether it shall be the first Tuesday or the second Wednesday. But the quarterly meetings are "musts." We use that in the constitution.

DELEGATE MAWHERR, Local 763: In my opinion the words "at his discretion" should be stricken out there, because as the other delegate pointed out, if it is left to the President's discretion as to when the meeting shall be called, they may not be called, according to what it says here. We used to operate under the set-up that the meetings were set up every three months, and the rest of the Executive Board, delegates, etc., would know three months ahead of time and would plan for that next meeting. But if the President calls it at his discretion the District Officers are liable to be tied up in something else and might not be able to get there, unless they know a long time ahead of time when that meeting is going to be held and they can leave a clear space for that meeting. So in my opinion the words "at his discretion" should be stricken out of that section.

DELEGATE HALEY, Local 452: As Brother Block pointed out, on page 8, it is mandatory for the Executive Board to meet quarterly. It is entirely within the realm of possibility that several Vice Presidents of this International Union will be engaged in chain negotiations on a particular day, and the President then must use his discretion as to when he will call that meeting, on what particular day. That is the object in giving the President a little discretion, that he can change the date somewhat within that quarterly meeting. But it is mandatory under this constitution that a meeting shall be held quarterly.

DELEGATE SNODGRASS, Local 1001: I think the word "discretion" there is all right, for the President to use his discretion in setting the time and place.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Committee has no strong opinions on this subject. The Committee unanimously endorsed this thing, "at his discretion," and they interpret it to mean just the time and place. Of course if we are all going to write a constitution and ignore the considered judgment of the Committee and put our own interpretations on it we will have

considerable time to devote to this. I think it is extremely clear on this question that there shall be a quarterly meeting of the Executive Board. It says that not only in that paragraph, but, as one delegate pointed out, it is contained in another paragraph.

It was pointed out it might be necessary to change some arrangements, that they might not be able to get suitable accommodations at a particular hotel, and they might, in view of some more important matters, have to change the time as well as the place.

I know from my own experience we had regular meetings of the Executive Board called, but the Executive Board decided that it might be a good idea to meet on Friday and Saturday instead of Saturday and Sunday, and so the President called a meeting of the Executive Board of UE to take place on Friday, the 13th, and Saturday, the 14th, of a certain month in 1941. And Jim Matles suggested that, though he was not particularly concerned about it, he was a bit superstitious, and he suggested we do not have a meeting on Friday, the 13th. So we postponed the meeting of the Executive Board and made it the 21st and 22nd of June, 1941. And do you know, your President was charged with calling that meeting on the 21st and 22nd of June, where they adopted, over the objection of Board Member Block and Presiding Officer Carey, a resolution condemning the nature of the war? They said it was an imperialistic war. But I was charged at the Camden Convention with having called that meeting of the Executive Board on June 21st and June 22nd, in order to embarrass my associates, as if I had a clear wire direct to Hitler and knew when he was going to invade the Soviet Union. Of course it is humorous when you look back at it.

But I ask the simple question, what is wrong with leaving the language as it stands, if it has the same meaning and represents the intent of the delegates? I think we have an unusually fine committee, and may I ask the members of that Committee to come to the platform.

(The members of the Constitution Committee came to the platform and were introduced by the Chairman.)

The question was called for on the motion to adopt Section B of Article VI as recommended.

The section was unanimously adopted.

Committee Chairman Block continued the report of the Committee, as follows:

ARTICLE VI, SECTION C

Section C. The President shall make quarterly reports to the Executive Board and an annual report to the Convention. Copies of all reports shall be sent to each Local Union

Section C was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE VI, SECTION D

Section D. The President shall coordinate with the District Presidents in each District for the maintenance and improvement of conditions of employment for those within the jurisdiction of this Union.

Section D was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE VI, Sections E, F, G, and H, were passed temporarily, to be reported upon later.

ARTICLE VII

Duties of the Secretary-Treasurer

Section A. Subject to the overriding authority of the Convention and of the Executive Board, the Secretary-Treasurer shall serve under the direction of the President. He shall perform such duties, in addition to those specified in this Article, as may be prescribed to him by the Executive Board or the President.

Section A was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE VII, SECTION B

Section B. The Secretary-Treasurer shall keep all records of the Executive Board and of the Conventions of the Union. He shall receive, receipt, deposit and account for all monies, and pay all bills of the Union; furnish all supplies pertaining to the Union, issue all credentials; give bonds satisfactory to the Executive Board; and perform all such other duties as may be deemed necessary to a proper and effective administration of the financial forces of the Union.

Section B was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE VII, SECTION C

Section C. All checks of the Union must bear two signatures, of which one must be that of the Secretary-Treasurer. The other signatures shall be that of the President or Vice President.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption of this section.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The change in this section from the mimeographed report is that instead of the Executive Board selecting somebody, inasmuch as you have two other full-time officers, either one of those can be the other signatory on a check. But the Secretary-Treasurer must sign it.

ARTICLE VII, SECTION D

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee passed this section temporarily, for later report.

ARTICLE VII, SECTION E

Section E. In case of death, resignation or recall of the Secretary-Treasurer, the Executive Board shall select a successor for the remainder of the term of office from among its members.

Section E was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE VIII

Duties of the Trustees

Section A. The duties of the Trustees shall be to audit all books and records of the Union quarterly, or oftener if so ordered by the Executive Board; to take inventory at least once a year and to safeguard all the properties of the Union. The Trustees shall elect one of their number who will make a report at the Convention in the name of the Trustees.

Section A was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE IX

Duties of the Executive Board

Section A. THE EXECUTIVE BOARD.

The Executive Board shall execute the instructions of the Convention and between Conventions shall be the highest authority of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO). The Executive Board by a majority vote shall advise and control the course of action of any or all of the officers, except as otherwise provided in this Constitution.

Section A was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE IX, SECTION B

Section B. MAJORITY VOTE.

All decisions of the Executive Board shall be decided by a majority vote of those members present.

Section B was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE IX, SECTION C

Section C. MEETINGS AND QUORUM.

Regular meetings of the Executive Board shall be held quarterly. Two-thirds of the membership of the Executive Board shall constitute a quorum. Section C was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE IX, SECTION D

Section D. VACANCY.

A vacancy in the Executive Board shall be filled by the geographical district which the vacating member represents.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt Section D of Article IX.

DELEGATE KITILSON, Local 450: Mr. Chairman, could you tell me how this vacancy will be filled? Will it be filled by election in the District, by appointment from the Executive Board, or how?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: By election in the District.

The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The District President is elected in the District. The Secretary designated to serve on the Executive Board is elected in the District, and the District Council constitution should have the machinery set up on recall, resignations, death, or removal of any of the officers, so that if that office is open in the district it is open on the Executive Board. Your district fills that office, and your representation is on the Executive Board.

Section D was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE IX, SECTION E

Section E. ABSENTEES.

In the event of a District President's inability to attend to his duties through sickness or other cause, he shall immediately notify the District Vice-President to act for him in the official capacity of District President. The District Vice-President shall report to the District President after carrying out such assignment.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt Section E.

DELEGATE HOFFMAN, Local 111: It provides here for the substitution

of the President, but not for the Secretary, also a member of the Executive Board.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The District Council has the right to make any other person designated officially to serve in the capacity of Secretary. This spells out, however, that the head of the district or the one who is his Vice-Chairman must definitely be there as a responsibility. The other is the district's responsibility, and you can change from the Recording Secretary or the Financial Secretary and designate that person back in the district.

The motion to adopt the section as recommended was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE IX, SECTION F

Section F. EXECUTIVE BOARD AND OFFICERS.

The Executive Board at any time may require from any officer a full and detailed statement of account of any action or business done in the name of the Union.

Section F was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE IX, SECTION G

Section G. AUDIT.

The Executive Board shall have the power to have the books of the Union audited by a certified public accountant at any time it deems necessary, but shall order an annual audit of the books of the Union by a certified public accountant. In case of a dispute arising over per capita tax or other financial obligations in any local, the Executive Board may order an examination of the books of the said local after due notice in writing has been given. The expense of such examinations to be borne by the Union. A local union may request the Union to make an examination of the books of the said local. The expenses of this examination to be borne by the local making the request. All examinations to be made by a public accountant.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's recommendation.

A DELEGATE (Name and Local Union No. not given) If a Local asks the International to audit its books I have no objection but I would like to know if that means any member of the Local or any officer of the Local or just what does it mean?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: By action of the Local Union a request can be made. No Local officer or member can do it without approval of the Local Union.

DELEGATE BOWMAN, Local 601: I know it is only minor, but I think it should be straightened out before it is voted on. At the beginning of the paragraph it refers to a certified public accountant, and at the end it says "public accountant." I would like to have that amended by saying "certified public accountant." I have reasons, because of what went on before in certain Locals, that that should be "certified public accountant."

CHAIRMAN CAREY: It doesn't make any difference—you are right.

A DELEGATE, Local 203: Shall the certified public accountant be sent in by the Executive Board or shall the Local itself assign its own certified public accountant, in case of dispute?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: If there is a dispute on any matter the International Union sends in a certified public accountant, and we start out on the assumption that a certified public accountant will make an honest audit of the situation. The International Union will then pay for that work. If the Local makes the request the Local will pay for it. As long as either the Local or the International is protected by an audit from a certified public accountant, there is no need of any fear, because these individuals, being bonded to do their job, will do an honest job.

DELEGATE JOSEPH T. KELLEY, Local 113: I would like to ask the Chairman of the Committee whether the ordinary procedures that many of the Locals have gone through in the past, where their constitution calls for their trustees to audit their books, whether it is the intent of this Committee that these trustees' reports shall still be given to the International at a designated time, and over and above that are the Locals going to be required at any time, at the insistence of the International Union, to hire an outside accountant to do the job, unless a dispute does come up as far as their official report is concerned?

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: This merely deals with cases where questions concerning a dispute or a request from a Local Union are involved. Under another section of the constitution the point is covered where the Local Unions and their local trustees would audit all the Local books. That is touched on in full.

The motion to adopt Section G was unanimously carried.

Committee Chairman Block continued the report of the Committee, as follows:

ARTICLE IX, SECTION H

Section H. DISTRICT PRESIDENTS' EXPENSES.

The District Presidents and District Secretaries who are members of the Executive Board shall not receive any salary for such offices from the Union (although if employed by the Union in some additional capacity they may receive compensation for such additional employment), but shall be paid by the Union for working time lost, traveling and subsistence expense.

Section H was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE X

Recall of Officers

Section A. RECALL OF CERTAIN NATIONAL OFFICERS.

Any local in good standing may initiate a petition for the recall of the President, the Vice President, or the Secretary-Treasurer, by the following procedure. The local initiating the petition must first receive official endorsement from not less than ten (10) other locals from at least three different districts, comprising twenty-five (25%) of the total membership of the Union, as determined by the paid per capita on the average of the three previous months, before submitting the petition to the Trustees. The Trustees shall then order the petition to be sent to every local in good standing, which shall take an aye and nay vote upon sustaining the recall. All local action pertaining to initiation of a petition for recall and all local action on the sustaining of a recall shall be acted upon at special meetings. Locals shall return the officially sealed result to the Trustees within forty-one (41) days of receiving same. The Trustees shall then announce the result of the vote.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption of this section.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's recommendation.

DELEGATE KITILSON, Local 450: Will this additional duty for the Trustees conflict with Article VIII, where you spell out the duties of the Trustees and limit them solely to financial matters?

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: No, it will not, because actually you are making sure that the proper officers, or any officer, with all due deference to the membership, is actually protecting the funds, properties, and what have you, of the organization.

The motion to adopt Section A of Article X was unanimously carried.

ARTICLE X, SECTION B

Section B. RECALL OF DISTRICT OFFICERS.

Any local in good standing may initiate a petition for the recall of the District President or any district officer of its district by the following procedure: The local initiating petition must first receive official endorsement from three other locals comprising twenty-five (25%) of the total membership of the district as determined by paid per capita of the average of the previous three (3) months before submitting petition to the Trustees. The Trustees shall then order the petition to be sent to every local in the district in good standing, which shall take an aye and nay vote upon sustaining the recall. All local action pertaining to initiation of petition for recall and all local action on sustaining of recall shall be acted upon at special meetings. Locals shall return the officially sealed result to the Trustees within forty-one (41) days of receipt of same. The Trustees shall announce the result of the vote.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption of Section B.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's report.

DELEGATE HOFFMAN, Local 111: In section A it states that in addition to the petitioning Local they should have not less than ten other Locals from three different districts. On District officers it says "from three other Locals." I think it should read "no less than three other locals." The way I interpret that, it gives three large Locals in any one District practically the controlling power to recall, where you may be able to get your 75 or 80 percent by getting seven or eight small Locals.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: Actually this is a protection to the District Locals as a whole, because if one Local had 25 percent of the membership it could not, on its own, institute the recall petition. It can't use too many Locals. Otherwise you would make it impossible. Therefore, it actually means that there will be four Locals in the District, the one petitioning and three others, making a minimum of four Locals that can institute a recall petition. It says that the Local initiating the recall must first receive official endorsement from three other Locals. If it was to go out and get fifteen there is nothing to stop them, but all it actually needs is three besides itself.

DELEGATE HOFFMAN: No less than three other Locals—two words.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: It is no less than three other locals.

DELEGATE HOFFMAN: It doesn't say that.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: It means that.

DELEGATE HOFFMAN: Shouldn't it be inserted?

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: It is inserted.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: There is no objection to changing it, but if it is already there, why change it? What does it say—doesn't this provision say that one Local Union can initiate a petition for recall, providing they had three other Locals approving the petition?

A DELEGATE, Local 288: It does say three other Locals, but if you get three Locals that haven't 25 percent of the votes you can't ask for a recall.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: If you have four Locals comprising 25 percent of the vote you can move for a recall of the officers.

A DELEGATE, Local 288: That's right, but if you haven't four Locals and have got 25 percent of the vote you can't ask for the recall.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: That is correct.

A DELEGATE, Local 288: Okay—if you say like you do in Section A, "no less than three locals," that means you can get seven or eight Locals and 25 percent. So let's put in there "no less than three Locals."

CHAIRMAN CAREY: If there be no objection, the Convention will vote on the Committee's recommendation, modified and clarified to provide that the section shall state clearly "no less than three other Locals."

All those in favor will signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.

The ayes have it unanimously, and it is so ordered.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: Now we come to Article XI, District Council. The Committee does not intend to change the geographical lines as we have known them heretofore. However, because of certain Locals being situated and being part of a District now, the spelling out in two Districts will be changed, it reads as follows:

ARTICLE XI

District Council

Section A. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRICTS AND DISTRICT COUNCILS.

The International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), shall be composed of the following geographical districts:

DISTRICT 1. South Jersey (South Trenton), Eastern Pennsylvania (west to and including Harrisburg), Maryland, Delaware and Virginia.

DISTRICT 2. New England: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Connecticut.

DISTRICT 3. New York State exclusive of the area listed in District 4.

DISTRICT 4. Greater New York City area, Long Island, and North Jersey, south to and including Trenton.

DISTRICT 5. Canada.

DISTRICT 6. Western Pennsylvania (west of Harrisburg) and West Virginia.

DISTRICT 7. Ohio and Kentucky.

DISTRICT 8. Missouri, Iowa and Kansas.

DISTRICT 9. Indiana and Michigan.

DISTRICT 10. California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona and Nebraska.

DISTRICT 11. Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota.

DISTRICT 12. North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma and Texas.

A District Council may initiate a petition to revise boundary lines of its District. Such petition shall be submitted by the District Council to the Executive Board. The Executive Board, after conducting an investigation, shall render a decision by a majority vote, the effective date to be determined by the Executive Board. The decision of the Executive Board may be appealed in accordance with the provisions in the Constitution.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: I want to again remind you we did not attempt to change what we now know as being the recognized district affiliations of existing Locals.

The Committee recommends adoption.

DELEGATE HOFFMAN, Local 805: We are now in District 8, and as far as this section says, Indiana will be included with Michigan. We live in southern Indiana, and we request we still stay in District 8 that includes Missouri, Iowa, and Kansas. We are not familiar with Michigan, and as far as our Locals are concerned we wish to get back in District 8, and not District 9 where it says Indiana and Michigan. We are not familiar with the officers in Michigan, and we request we be put in District 8. Thank you.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Constitution Committee knew there were a lot of problems in many districts and some Local Unions. It would be impossible for the Constitution Committee to hear the entire problems as they affect each Local Union and then make a decision on each one. Therefore, what we did was to clarify Districts 3 and 4, maintain what we now recognize as the structure, and permit the machinery to be set up for changing of the boundary lines. There is nothing wrong in any district, by proper action, making a request that its boundary lines be changed to include more territory, to cut out some of its territory, and the Executive Board then acts on the request of the particular District Council. So if the Brother has a problem and the District in which the Local would like to be in desires to have that change made, that District Council can petition the Executive Board to change its boundary lines.

DELEGATE CLICK, Local 1102: The present boundaries of District 8, at least under the old UE, was comprised of Missouri, Iowa, and Kansas, and southern Illinois and southern Indiana, and the Tri-City area of Moline, Rock Island, and Davenport, and although the Chairman of the Committee stated a Local now in a District would remain there, it still leaves the problem of who would be charged with the organizational activities in the areas surrounding those particular activities. In the past, taking care of southern Illinois and southern Indiana, and in the area surrounding the Tri-City area, has been taken over by District 8, and that was the result of Board action of the UE. We don't understand why the Constitution Committee in drawing up this proposal does not include those boundaries to allow District 8 to function as a district in those particular sections of Illinois and Indiana.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: If the Constitution Committee would take up this problem of District 8, we have another problem in District 11, and a problem in District 1 and District 4, pertaining to Trenton, and we would have to constitute ourselves as a committee to take evidence not only from District 8, and your Local that wants the change, but also from

the District it wants to leave; and it is not the duty of the Constitution Committee to take that kind of evidence and make the recommendation the Brother desires. The Constitution Committee can only bring in a constitution that sets up the machinery so the duly authorized body the Executive Board can make the necessary moves upon the presentation of proper evidence. If we go into one we would have to go into all.

It was definitely the opinion that the present practice as we now know it, will hold and the Executive Board will make changes upon proper petition. We cannot do it in the Constitution Committee because it was not our job.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I think, perhaps, Delegate Click, that meets the question that you raised.

DELEGATE CLICK: Mr. Chairman, it does not meet the question, because we are not asking for a change in the District boundaries, we are asking only the Constitution Committee leave them as they are now under the set-up and write that into the constitution. It was an agreement between District 8 and District 9 and those changes were made some years ago. There is no request here for an extension of any boundaries, but they are asking us to do what was done several years ago, to go through the Executive Board and get approval for something that has been in existence. The Chairman of the Committee created the opinion that we were asking for a change. We aren't. We merely want the district boundaries to conform with what they are now.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chairman of the Committee begs the consideration of the Convention, and made a statement that the present practice shall govern. The committee can be authorized by the Convention to write in clear language the intent of the Committee and the intent of the Convention that the present practice shall be retained in the constitution and the lines of districts clearly drawn to meet the pattern that now applies.

DELEGATE DURKIN, Local 453: In the reading by the Chairman of the geographical districts we noted that in District 4—we are now a member of District 4—he excluded Westchester County. Are we still to believe we are a member of District 4, or District 3, New York State, exclusive of New York City?

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: I think I reported District 3 jurisdiction was as follows: "New York State, exclusive of the area listed in District 4." District 4 reads, "Greater New York City area, Long Island, and north Jersey, south to and including Trenton."

It was the opinion of the Constitution Committee, including the Brothers from District 4, that the way I just read it covers the existing practice in District 4 and won't make any change. In fact, as I just read it, it is a trifle more clear than it was before.

DELEGATE VIOLA PASCOE: I would like to make an appeal to the boys of southern Indiana, Tell City and Evansville, that are here, to not stay with District 8 in the new set-up. We have been weakened in District 9 due to not having a larger spread of our organization over the State of Indiana. Our UE formerly was concentrated in Ft. Wayne, Indiana, and consequently they concentrated the Communist Party in the city of Ft. Wayne, Indiana, and we were unable to do much to contribute to the new organization.

Now previously we had Evansville in with us, we could have our conventions down there, we got a spread of ideas over our State, and it worked

out much better. When our district was changed under the old UE they just throttled us in District 9. I know we don't stand out as a good district now but I hope under the new organization if we can get Tell City and Evansville and down below Indianapolis in our district I am quite sure they can contribute a lot to our district in building a stronger IUE. I don't think we are going to have any trouble with Brother Click, because my husband, Jim Pascoe, is the organizer in District 9; we get along very well with Click. I hope it can be worked out between the organizational staff, but I do appeal here that the Constitution not be changed barring us from taking the organizations in Indiana that operate under our same Indiana laws and which would help us in our organization in the northern part.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair must rule the appeal is not in order under the subject matter now before the Convention. The delegates will have recommended to them an orderly procedure in which the appeal can be heard and the discussions take place that will meet that situation.

The recommendation of the Committee is that the groups now in District 8 remain in District 8, and if any changes be made in the present pattern they be made under a definite provision of the constitution that makes it possible for the changes to be made.

On the question; all those in favor of the Committee's recommendation say aye; those opposed.

The Committee's recommendation is adopted.

Section B. DISTRICT COUNCILS.

A District Council shall be established within each geographical district. The purpose of the District Council shall be to secure mutual protection, harmonious action, and close cooperation among all locals within a given district, in all matters relating to the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO).

The Committee recommended adoption of the section as read, and the Committee's recommendation was carried unanimously.

Section C. ELECTION OF DISTRICT PRESIDENTS.

The locals in each district shall elect a President of that District who shall serve as a member of the Executive Board and as Chairman of the District Council.

The Committee recommended the adoption of Section C, and the Committee's recommendation was unanimously carried.

Section D. DUTIES OF DISTRICT PRESIDENT.

It shall be the duty of the District President to act as Chairman of the District Council, to preside over all meetings of the District Council, to act as ex-officio member of all committees appointed or elected by the District Council, and to represent the Executive Board in disputes between locals within the jurisdiction of the District Council.

The Committee recommended adoption, and the Committee's recommendation was carried unanimously.

Section E. DISTRICT VICE PRESIDENT.

A District Vice President shall be nominated and elected by the same procedure as that for the President. See Section C of this Article.

The Committee recommended adoption, and the Committee's recommendation was carried unanimously.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The next section, Section F, is tabled for the time being.

There is no Section G.

Section H. METHOD OF ELECTION.

Each District Council shall set up in its District Council Rules and By-Laws, nomination and election machinery for the purpose of electing all district officers. No person shall be eligible to hold office as a district officer who is a member of the Communist Party or who consistently pursues policies and activities directed toward the achievement of the program or the purposes of the Communist Party or of any other totalitarian or fascist organization. Additional qualifications for district officers may be presented in the District Council Rules and By-Laws. The names of the District President, Vice President, and Secretary elected by the District shall be in the Union office by October 28th. Such machinery must insure that each Local's membership has the opportunity to register its choice either by referendum or by a majority vote of the District Council.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption.

DELEGATE DECHANT: I would like to ask the question, does that mean the District Council would set up the machinery within the District?

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The District Council would set up the machinery within the District, but the machinery must give opportunity to the membership in the District to express their desires.

The Committee's recommendation was adopted.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: We now are approaching the hour of recess, and the Committee on Constitution is going into session immediately. Is it the pleasure of the Convention we recess until 2 o'clock this afternoon?

All those in favor of recessing until 2 p. m. will please leave.

(At 12:10 o'clock p.m. the Convention stood recessed until 2 o'clock p. m.)

THIRD DAY—WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The Convention was called to order by Chairman Carey at 2:25 p. m.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, Fred Kelley.

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

Delegate Fred Kelley, Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, submitted the following report:

Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, the Resolutions Committee offers the following resolution on Foreign Policy:

Resolution No. 4

FOREIGN POLICY

It is clear to us as workers that the world cannot live one-half slave and one-half free. We know that America must give of its abundance to help put the rest of the world back on an even keel. We know that without our help, thousands of workers in foreign lands—many of them distantly related to us, perhaps, since many of us come from foreign stock—these

many workers in foreign lands who live the life of abject poverty and end in starvation—we, who are now in the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), have favored the Marshall Plan since the very day Secretary of State Marshall announced his idea. It is ironic that the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, despite our efforts, preferred to follow the Communist Party line. It is ironic that one of the by-products of the UE's pro-Russian drive was to solidify the American workers' support of the Marshall Plan.

In the field of foreign relations we of IUE-CIO heartily endorse:

1. Implementation of the Marshall Plan with everything it needs and defeat of any and all attempts to curtail its service. Since the humanitarian purposes of the Marshall Plan cannot be carried out in Franco Spain, under no circumstances should Marshall Plan aid be given to that regime.

2. We hail the CIO's decision to leave the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions, and we pledge our strength to help the new Federation which is now being formed in Europe.

3. We strongly urge the end of the undemocratic and unjust partition of the Republic of Ireland being enforced by a government which is under the Labor Party of Great Britain.

4. We strongly urge our Government to give every help possible to the new Government of Israel.

5. We call for efforts to secure high standards of living for the people of Latin America.

6. We denounce the Displaced Persons Bill passed by the Eightieth Congress—a bill which showed bigotry towards many Catholics and Jews—and we urge the Eighty-first Congress to use the greatest of speed in correcting this error so that thousands of refugees from fascist and communist terrorists and mass murderers can find a haven in this country.

7. We believe the United Nations is our best hope for the settlement of international disputes without war. We urge that the United Nations be strengthened.

8. We hope the new World Federation will explore the industrial problems of Western Germany and Europe.

9. We are for the Atlantic Pact as a means of peace against Soviet leaders of aggression.

10. We urge the ratification of the charter of the International Trade Organization and the employment and extension of Reciprocal Trade Agreements.

11. We back President Truman's Point Four Statement, "We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of undeveloped areas."

12. We view with alarm the collapse of China before the Communists. We are deeply critical of the corrupt reactionary and anti-democratic policy of the Chiang Kai-Shek Government.

13. Our Government must adopt a forward looking policy to bring the Asiatic peoples on our side. We also must aid the Filipinos in development of self-government and independence.

14. We favor disarmament, but the United States cannot disarm unless,

after full disclosure of present military establishments, disarmament is on an equitable basis.

15. We oppose any attempt to hand over control of atomic energy to the military.

To all these objectives, we pledge our hearts, minds and energies as loyal American citizens.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN KELLEY: Mr. Chairman, the Resolutions Committee moves for adoption of this resolution on foreign policy.

The motion was seconded.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: You have heard the recommendation of the Committee. The motion is to adopt. On the question.

All those in favor of the adoption of the Committee's recommendation will please rise to your feet; those opposed will please rise to your feet.

The foreign policy of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) has been declared by the unanimous standing vote of this Convention. (Applause.)

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Will the Reception Committee designated by this Convention to meet the Secretary of Labor please come forward and escort the Secretary of Labor to the platform?

The Honorable Maurice Tobin, Secretary of Labor of the United States, was escorted to the rostrum, amid applause.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: For the last three years the National Conventions of the CIO have had the honor and pleasure of being addressed by an outstanding friend of labor from Massachusetts. On each of those three occasions this great friend of labor gave us his pledge that he would fight shoulder to shoulder with organized labor and all other Americans of goodwill, for what is just and right and decent for the well-being of the American people and the welfare of our country.

He has kept his pledges to labor and to the common people of America. During the last year he has steadfastly maintained his position alongside the leaders of CIO in demanding repeal of the infamous Taft-Hartley law. He sought and secured the enactment of improvements in the minimum wage law, signed by President Truman just about a month ago. We can also credit him with injecting new life into the Bureau of Employment Security, which has rightfully been restored to the U. S. Department of Labor by the 81st Congress. At the present moment he is busily engaged in seeing to it that unemployment insurance and employment service functions of the federal government will again be operated and improved to give service to the people.

This man has the confidence of the common people. The workers in his own community in the past have elected him to office as Mayor of Boston and as Governor of the great Commonwealth of Massachusetts. He has a truly distinguished record of service to the people.

It is a mark of distinction to this great union of electrical, radio and machine workers that this man is visiting with us today. We know that he will be with us as we expand and develop the work of this International Union.

This man from Massachusetts is a fighter and he will fight beside us. I know that you share fully in my pleasure in having with us today as our guest the Honorable Maurice Tobin Secretary of Labor of the United States of America. (Applause.)

HON. MAURICE TOBIN

Secretary of Labor of the United States

President Jim Carey and delegates to this Organizational Convention of the IUE-CIO, I am indeed proud as an American Secretary of Labor to bring to a real American labor movement the greetings of the United States Government and its President.

No great movement in the history of the American labor movement in modern days since the Congress of Industrial Organizations, back almost a decade and a half, has brought a greater thrill to me than this Convention here in Philadelphia.

We are Americans, every last one of us, and we owe loyalty only to one nation, and that is the United States of America. You men and women here are delegates representing workers in an industry that is fighting not only for preservation of freedom in America but the freedom that is left in the world. There is no industry more important than the industry in which you are engaged.

Yes, we have passed through five years of war, and during that time some officers in your former organization happened to be loyal only because it served their purposes temporarily. None of the leaders in the present organization were to be found supporting Hitler when he was crushing Finland, when he was crushing Poland and when he was crushing Czechoslovakia. None of your leaders made that turn overnight that we in Washington know as one of the yardstick measurements as to a man's loyalty to his country. When Hitler attacked Soviet Russia these men took an entirely different tack.

This meeting of yours is not only encouraging to me and encouraging to all the thousands of members of American labor, whether in the CIO or not, but to all Americans, regardless of their station in life. They are looking to you to do a real job, and I would like to say to you during this battle you are going to run into some skirmishes and you may lose some; but remember when we started out in this last war we Americans lost a great many important battles. First we had to take the discouragement of Pearl Harbor. Then our hearts went out to those defending Wake Island. Finally we had to give up the Philippines when we lost Bataan and Corregidor; and all of you remember the feelings we had for the Marines standing on one of the smallest air fields in the Pacific, with a perimeter of not over 900 yards in total, but they held out and held it for months. And from there we went on and on and on until victory was finally won in 1945.

And I am confident you are going to do just that. What you need in this battle—money is not everything—what you need are the good, decent American workers in the electrical industry in this country. Let nothing deter you in your organizational drive. Give to all of these workers an opportunity to come under the mantle of this great American organization, and I predict in the years that lie ahead this organization will make a real contribution to the advancement of the working conditions of the American workers in the electrical industry and at the same time make a real contribution to the strengthening of America's autonomy and the strengthening of our whole Nation as one united whole.

It goes without saying that I wish you every success. I congratulate the

CIO on deciding at its last convention to get rid of every trace of Communist infiltration or influence. I congratulate you who represent the gold which has come out of that sifting process. Your tribe is already surprisingly large. I am sure it will increase by leaps and bounds as a result of the decisions you are about to reach here in Philadelphia.

There is no place for Communism in the American labor movement. That is true not merely because of Communist ideology. It is true, also, because of the record which Communism has made, wherever it has been able to subvert labor. Abroad, it has robbed unions of their freedom and forced them to serve anti-union purposes. In this country, it has made unions front-organizations for the promotion of the aims of a specific foreign power. I won't be mealy-mouthed about it. We don't want any agents of the Kremlin in the American labor movement.

It is because American labor feels this way that it has thrown itself with such ardor into saving the free democratic unions of Europe from totalitarian encroachment. A great world body is being organized in London, with the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and other United States labor representatives at hand, to offset the maneuvering of the discredited WFTU. Organized workers of the democratic countries know that they must hang together or hang separately. Free labor hasn't a ghost of a chance to retain its rights, so long as it remains half white and half red. It must purge itself of every weakness within in order to be strong against any outside effort to dominate it for the malignant designs of world Communism.

It is because American labor feels that it can have no truck with Communism that it has taken steps to dispel every hint of Communism within its own ranks. That does not mean that American labor has grown illiberal or unprogressive. It merely means that labor has recognized the underlying reactionism of the totalitarian point of view. It merely means that labor has realized that the sure way of losing its freedom is to be a party to the inhuman tyranny of Communistic operations. It merely means that labor has chosen to take the high road of democratic life and practice in preference to the swamps of Stalinism.

American labor has made its choice and will reap the reward of increasing economic and political power, without being oppressed by a Politburo, without being regimented, without losing a single one of the precious privileges of American citizenship. Whatever the American wage earner is entitled to and is being deprived of, whatever fresh fields of social and economic betterment he should enjoy, these are much more likely to be opened to him in a forward-moving democracy than under any totalitarian order.

Having said all this, let me now point out that you have made your decision and followed it up without any governmental interference. Contrast this with the attitude of Fascist and Communist governments toward labor. The first thing Hitler did after attaining power was to smash the independence of the free trade unions. Thereafter they existed only as organs of the state.

In the Soviet Union the unions are also organs of the state. Have you ever heard of trade unions striking for better wages and working conditions in Russia? Have you ever heard of discussion and argument within Russian trade unions on questions of political policy, such as have characterized recent CIO meetings? Of course you never have. Unions can take no

political or economic position in the USSR except that dictated in advance by an all-powerful totalitarian state.

In this country we have a different concept of the rights of workers and of their organizations. Our Government merely looked on while within the CIO there took place the action preliminary to cleansing operations which culminated in Cleveland. At no time did the Government tell you what you had to do; at no time did any Government spokesman impose his will, directly or indirectly, on the CIO. Your decisions were made by free individuals after free discussion of their own problems.

That is the way it should be. I am proud that we in the United States can rely upon the political wisdom of the free trade unions of the United States. That answers all demands for Government control of our labor movement. That proves that the best guarantee of a democratic system is a free, genuine, strong labor movement.

I wish you Godspeed as you proceed to the rounded establishment of your organization. The IUE-CIO is now taking its place as a full-fledged body in the American labor movement.

I also want to congratulate you on the embryonic constitution that is in the process of being developed here, a constitution that will guarantee for you at all times to have free American liberties and privileges, and profit the members of this organization in a democratic way by causing a plebiscite to be held in all the Local Unions for the choosing of International Officers of this great organization.

I am also pleased with the further recommendation in the constitution that no officers or representatives can be members of any totalitarian organization; they have to be fundamental Americans who believe in a great free philosophy such as we enjoy in the United States of America.

You are exercising your rights as American workers and as freedom-loving progressives. You are publishing to the world that you are American workers seeking in an American way to help make good the promise of the American hope.

May God bless you in your endeavors. I am confident in the years that lie ahead your organization is going to take its place among the greatest that America has ever known.

God bless you for your Americanism and God bless you for your sound trade unionism.

(Following the address of Secretary of Labor Tobin there was prolonged applause and cries of "More, More.")

SECRETARY OF LABOR TOBIN: Well, all I have to say is that a great responsibility rests on the shoulders of the delegates who are present at this Convention. Do not let the tactics that have been learned down through the years deter you from your main objective, and that is to get every last one of the former members of your great organization back into this great fold. You will be badgered in every court in the land; you will have injunctions of all kinds sought. But money, as I stated earlier, is not everything. Get the union membership, get them into your fold. The line is clear. On one side stands a free American trade union movement, and on the other side stands the direct opposite.

I might point out to you that if the leaders of this organization had had their way in their attempt to divide the workers of America and to mislead them in the election of 1948—not for the purpose of making us a

better America, but for the purpose of weakening our great America, many of the great advances for the most lowly paid wage earners in America would not have resulted in success at the last session of Congress.

So you have a real job ahead of you. Their records are clear. The records of your new leaders are clear—they are good trade unionists who believe in accomplishing the ends of the trade union movement in an American way. And under the leadership of the men and women who are present here I am confident that you will succeed in building back into this organization the overwhelming majority and eventually all of those who are now outside the fold.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I think we have a good Secretary of Labor, a great campaigner. And I may say to you Secretary Tobin, I feel certain that your confidence in the delegates attending this Convention is well placed. These people have been engaged in a fight down through the years. They are not by any means recent converts to the fight against the Communists, and I do feel in my heart that the message you have delivered at this Convention is not only a pleasing one to the delegates assembled, but it can be used effectively by spreading that message over a wider and ever-increasing area of people in other governmental positions.

I only wish that judges of our courts in our land had that same kind of an understanding that you have reflected in your remarks. If the employers in our industry had that same kind of patriotism demonstrated by the workers in our industry they would not hide behind any false position of fake neutrality.

I think your inspiring message might well be delivered to all people of this Nation, but I especially insist that those who serve in governmental positions, those who serve on the benches of our judiciary, will take note of the fact that the people assembled here are fighting in defense of the integrity of our Government, the integrity of our parliamentary system, and the integrity of our independent courts.

I know perhaps some employers might be governed by the profit opportunities from a contract with AMTORG or by the immediate opportunities of gaining special favor because of the lack of aggressiveness on the part of a Communist shop steward or a national officer.

But the fight the people here are putting up is your kind of fight, Secretary Tobin, a fight against great odds. Your words of confidence give us inspiration, and we all agree with you that despite any setbacks we may receive from time to time, victory will be ours, as victory has attended the efforts of our Nation in its fight against totalitarianism.

Thanks, Secretary Tobin. Our people are proud that you are Secretary of the Department that serves the interests of the workers of this Nation. Your efforts as we have seen them have been directed toward serving the interests of not just labor, but all the people.

Thank you from the bottom of my heart.

The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Constitution for a continuation of the report of that Committee.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION—(Continued)

Committee Chairman Block continued the report of the Committee as follows:

ARTICLE XI, SECTION I

Section I. DISTRICT COUNCIL CHARTERS.

The Union shall issue a charter to each of the District Councils upon receipt of application from the President and Secretary of the District. The charter fee shall be thirty-two dollars and fifty cents (\$32.50). This sum shall cover the charter, seal, book on parliamentary procedure, and fifty (50) national constitutions.

Section I was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XI, SECTION J

Section J. DISTRICT COUNCIL DELEGATES TO CONVENTION.

District Councils shall be allowed two delegates and two votes in the Convention.

Section J was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XII

Chartering of Locals

Section A. Any fifteen (15) workers or more in the electrical, radio and machine industry shall be eligible to apply for a charter. Written application for a charter shall be made to the Secretary-Treasurer. The charter application shall be accompanied by fifteen (15) signed application blanks and a fee of thirty-two dollars and fifty cents (\$32.50). The Secretary-Treasurer shall issue a charter and supply a seal, full bookkeeping supplies, fifty (50) constitutions, five hundred (500) application blanks, book on parliamentary procedure, gavel, and shall arrange to bond officers of the newly chartered locals for the sum of five hundred dollars (\$500) for one year, all of which shall be covered by the fee of thirty-two dollars and fifty cents (\$32.50).

Section A was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XII, SECTION B

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee is adding another sentence to this section as it was originally reported, and the section will now read:

Section B. The Executive Board shall determine in each case whether a charter shall be granted covering one or more plants. Matters affecting jurisdiction of locals shall be determined by the Executive Board. Due consideration shall be given to the employees from any shop in their desire for affiliation.

Section B was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XII, SECTION C

Section C. Each local union chartered by the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) is required to affiliate with the appropriate state and local industrial union councils.

Section C was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XIII

Revenue

Sections A, B, C, and D of this Article were passed temporarily by the Committee, to be reported upon later.

ARTICLE XIV

Strike and Defense Fund

Section A. NOTIFICATION OF PENDING STRIKE.

No strike shall be called by any local without the President, or his representative having made an effort to adjust the dispute. It shall be the duty of the local president or any other officer acting in that capacity to notify immediately the President if a strike is proposed or pending. The President shall act immediately upon notification of a proposed or pending strike.

Section A was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XIV, SECTION B

Section B. STRIKE DONATIONS.

No local or member shall receive any money from the Strike Defense Fund until the President or his designated representative has determined definitely that the cessation of work is unavoidable.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption of this section.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's recommendation.

DELEGATE KELLEY, Local 113: I would just like to ask the Chairman if it would not clarify it a little more if you inserted the word "International" before the word "President."

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: We use the term "President" throughout here, meaning President of the International Union. Now if we just put it in here and didn't put it in the other places it would be even more confusing. Where we speak of Local President we say "Local Union President," showing the difference. You will notice that takes place in Section A of the same Article, where we show the designation of "Local Union President" as against "President."

The motion to adopt the Committee's report was unanimously carried.

ARTICLE XIV, SECTION C

Section C. APPEAL FROM DECISION OF PRESIDENT.

In the event that the local involved is dissatisfied with the decision of the President or his appointed representative, the local may appeal direct to the Executive Board.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption of this section.

A motion was made and seconded that the Committee's recommendation be adopted.

A DELEGATE (Name not given): On the appeal to the Executive Board, is the Executive Board immediately to be called into session?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Not necessarily.

A DELEGATE: The reason I ask that, in the event a Local wants to take action against the decision of the President, how long will they have to wait until they can appeal to the Board?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: They can appeal to the Board as soon as the President renders his decision.

A DELEGATE: And from there on?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: It doesn't necessarily require a meeting of the Board. It can be done by correspondence and the Board can determine the question. The question of degree would enter into it, the question of importance would enter into it, whether a meeting would be called or the action of the President overruled.

A DELEGATE: In other words, they don't have to wait until the next meeting of the Executive Board?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: They do not have to wait.

The motion to adopt the Committee's report was unanimously carried.

ARTICLE XIV, SECTION D

Section D. No representative of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) shall negotiate with the employer alone.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption of this section.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's report.

DELEGATE RATH, Local 601: I was just wondering, on the question of this representation, I heartily agree with it, but it seems to me under the situation under which we are working, and I know particularly in Local 601, we have received a letter from the company under the Taft-Hartley law which follows out rather closely that the management will only deal on the question of grievances with the individual employee. Now I am wondering if we should not have something in here to include the question of the situation as it exists at the present time, because as the situation exists management refuses to deal with our stewards, our representatives, elected officers, etc., but they will in line with the Taft-Hartley Act, they will deal with an individual employee or a group of employees or someone that they designate to represent them.

If you have this provision here and accept it you might present charges against your members and expel all your members because of trying to follow the grievance procedure.

I notice particularly the Communists in our Local—and you know we have them there—have been using the propaganda that the contract is null and void and that the officers under the IUE-CIO are not able to negotiate on the contract. Management is taking a neutral position, but at the same time they are following the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act, which allows the individual employee to negotiate all grievances, which is in its essentials destroying the propaganda that the Communists have put out, saying that the contract is null and void there. I wonder if we should not have something in here in order not to tie ourselves up too tight.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I would like to suggest that you give a careful reading to the provision recommended by the Chairman in behalf of the Committee. It doesn't cover the point of the individual representing his own interests in the adjustment of a grievance, nor does it provide anything other than what it states: "No representative shall negotiate with the employer alone." That means, as it is written in the International con-

stitution, no representative of the International Union shall negotiate with the employer alone. I don't think we ought to write a constitution that conforms to the evil practice of the company at the present time.

The way to deal with that, I would suggest, would be to change the practice and the policy of the company. Quite frankly, I think we will have to be energetic in forcing the company to come closer to the democratic principles contained in this constitution, rather than have the constitution conform to the undemocratic practices of the particular corporation or employer. I don't think that that condition will long prevail. In fact, I think that in this particular company we will straighten that out in very short order, by straightening out the employer in one form or another.

All those in favor of the Committee's recommendation will signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.

The ayes have it, and it is so ordered.

CERTIFICATE OF MERIT

CHAIRMAN CAREY: We have two matters to submit to you merely for your information. I will interrupt at this time to provide a rest for the Committee on Constitution and to announce that the Administrative Committee would like to know if the delegates would be interested in having a little memento of this historic occasion. We have people who have been working hard on our committees and we have people whose efforts were apparent, but recognizing their services will go unnoticed if we don't provide some way that they will be able to recall participation in this Organizational Convention, and perhaps some recognition of the assignments that they carried.

So we are suggesting—and it will require the unanimous approval of the Convention—that we send to each delegate a Certificate of Merit, and I am providing you now with a rather rough draft of what that certificate will contain.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ELECTRICAL, RADIO AND MACHINE WORKERS (CIO)

CERTIFICATE OF MERIT

This certificate of merit proclaims that:

(Name of Delegate)

faithfully served the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) as

(Position)

at its Organizational Convention held at the Broadwood Hotel, City of Philadelphia, State of Pennsylvania, beginning on November 28th, A. D. 1949. That historic Convention completed the repudiation of the disloyalty and bad trade unionism of those who caused the expulsion from the CIO of a

predecessor union in the electrical, radio and machine manufacturing industry, and marked the foundation of a new, great, militant and loyal International Union affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

For the Administrative Committee:

James B. Carey

Chairman

William Snoots

Secretary

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Do I hear any objection to that course being followed?

Hearing no objection, it is so ordered.

I now take pleasure in calling upon the Reception Committee to escort Secretary of the Air Force Symington to the platform.

(The Escort Committee complied with the Chairman's request.)

CHAIRMAN CAREY: It is a great privilege for this Convention to have as its guest today an outstanding leader of men in the industrial world and also in the defense forces of our beloved country.

Workers in the electrical, radio and machine manufacturing field have known this man for many years. After an extensive career with companies owned by his family he became President of the Colonial Radio Company, Rochester, New York, in 1930. In 1935 he went to Baltimore as an executive of the Rustless Iron and Steel Company.

In 1938 he was selected to serve as President and Chairman of the Board of the Emerson Electric Manufacturing Company, St. Louis, Missouri. He is therefore widely known to thousands upon thousands of our colleagues in this International Union.

It is needless to say that he has an outstanding record as a New Dealer and needless also to say that today he is an outstanding Fair Dealer. He was a confidante of President Roosevelt and of President Truman. Down through the years he has been consistently called upon to render service to our Nation, and at all times he represented those ideals that are represented by this organization. He has worked in the interest of the well-being of the men, women, and children of the United States of America.

His very steady and uncompromising support of the rights of the common man in the economic and political field called him into the Federal service at great personal sacrifice. Knowing his integrity and his administrative ability, President Truman drafted him from the Emerson Company in 1945 to organize and head the Surplus Property Administration. It was owing to the contribution of this man that the Surplus Property Administration carried out its functions with no repetition of the shocking graft scandals that usually followed in that field as an aftermath of war.

It had been assumed on the return of peace that he would return to industrial work again as an executive. It is a more comfortable job, I assure

you, to be an executive officer of a corporation than it is to have the kind assignment that Stuart Symington is engaged in at the present time. But due to the fact that this Nation must efficiently protect itself from power-mad totalitarian groups, it is necessary that he continue his work in behalf of all of the people in a position in government. The march of science has made it necessary that we, in carrying on our work and within our Union, provide the most modern equipment. Stu Symington organized that work. He understands and he guides the experts in dealing with the effective defense of our Nation. I have known him personally for many years, and perhaps he can testify to the negotiating ability of some of the people seated in this room today.

It affords me a great deal of pleasure to present to you an employer, a great public servant, and I might also say that we pin upon his breast today a distinguished guest badge which makes him an honorary member of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO).

Stu Symington, you come before the Convention as a brother to the workers here assembled.

HONORABLE W. STUART SYMINGTON

Secretary of the Air Force, Department of Defense

Mr. Chairman and members of the new Union—I was in New York yesterday and Mr. Murray called me up about something. I had read in the New York Times that morning and I said, "By the way, Phil, I don't know what the title of my friend is down there. What do I call him?" He said, "He is the Chairman." So I say, "Mr. Chairman." And I understand that you all have just heard Secretary Tobin make a talk. I have heard Maurice talk before, so inasmuch as he has been a Governor and I have just been a bureaucrat, this will be in the nature of a little anticlimax.

But I certainly appreciate those undeserved, but very kind remarks made about me. When your Chairman says there are people in this audience who are good negotiators, so far as my defending my stockholders is concerned, you can put ten on that for me. Nevertheless, I was mightily proud that the company with which I was associated in dealing with Local 1102 was one of the first, if not the first, if I may say so, to see the light.

It is a great pleasure to be here with you all today, at this, the first convention of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers. I am glad to see here the able former chief steward of a company I once worked for. I hear from your people that Jim Click has done a fine job in helping to get this new Union started. Congratulations to him and his colleagues.

I might say that there is nobody in my life that I have had more arguments with than Jim Click. I know he is very fond of me. I see some of his colleagues here, Gordon Cortor, and many other members.

Your Chairman and I have worked together for many years in effort to improve the conditions of working people in several different companies, and at the same time improve the companies themselves. We have had our differences, of course, as primarily he represented the union members and I the stockholders; but there never was a difference we did not finally reconcile.

In one company the weekly take-home pay was tripled within three

years; and at the same time the position of the stockholders was very much benefited.

I remember back one time in 1938 I first went up to St. Louis and they had a fellow named Logsdon, and any time he said anything he laughed, so I got a little nervous. I went to New York and got hold of the Chairman and said, "This fellow is sort of tough, and if I make a deal with him will you guarantee it?" The Chairman said, "Yes, I will." I said, "He is pretty tough." The Chairman said, "He isn't so tough, he has only been arrested seven times and I have been arrested fifty-nine times."

I met your Chairman about sixteen years ago, when President Roosevelt first put in the so-called NRA. I watched him found a great union, watched that union grow and prosper, and then saw him thrown out as President because he was against **all** forms of totalitarianism, not just **one**.

I then watched the long and tireless struggle he made over the years to restore true democratic ideals into the leadership of American electrical workers, culminating in this convention, a great day for him, for you, and for the people of this country.

My association with organized labor groups has been limited since coming into Government. I miss the association, and it is a privilege to be with you today, not only from the standpoint of past relationships, but also as a member of the official family of our great President, Harry S. Truman, whose leadership has meant so much to organized labor, to the nation and to the peace of the world.

If labor moves forward under the policies and ideals of your leaders and our President, the future of the United States will be that much more secure. It is with pride and affection, therefore, that I salute here today, not only a winner, but a great American—Jim Carey.

When I asked Jim what subject he thought might interest you today, he suggested security—a much discussed and a much misunderstood word—a word with respect to your activities that I intend to dwell on a little more in detail later—nevertheless an important word, one vital in connection with the heritage we plan to leave our children, and our children's children.

These are the most challenging times in our history. I said in part on last night's Town Hall Radio program:

"With the world in its present condition, nothing is more important, nothing could be more important, to the future security of our country than mutual understanding, mutual respect, between the various groups that make up the population of the United States.

"Perhaps the wisest man in our history once remarked at the time our country was first formed, that if we didn't all hang together, we would all hang separately.

"That observation was never more true than it is today.

"Any war that might come to this country in the future would be a total war, a war in which the courage and loyalty of the man or woman worker on the machines of industry would be just as important as that of the fighting men in the front lines.

"Every citizen should not only know, but should believe in, the causes for which we would, if necessary, fight again; such causes as belief in freedom of speech, belief in freedom of action, belief in self determination, and belief in an enlightened progressive economy of free enterprise under the capitalistic system.

"I do not say that our system as it functions today is the ultimate for the spiritual and material progress of the people; but I do say, and without any reservation, that it is the best system civilization has devised to date. I affirm also that it is far better to continue to improve our current system of individual liberty than it would to shift to any new way of life in which the individual would become the **slave** of his state, instead of its **master**.

"Over the long pull no employer can or should win today unless he is just as interested in the happiness and welfare of the members of his organization as he is in the happiness and profits of his stockholders. True **economic** democracy must begin around the board tables of management.

"All real leaders of business and all real leaders of labor know there must be mutual cooperation. Such cooperation is democracy functioning in business. It will give greater security to the individual operating under our system of free enterprise, and that gives greater security to our nation."

We now know that any future war will be a total war; that is, under conditions of modern warfare, every city, every factory, and every farm would become part of the zone of combat. The entire population must not only be actively engaged in the conduct of the war, but also will be subject to personal attack by the enemy.

World Wars I and II were fought just as much by production workers on the machines as they were by front-line fighters. Production courage and tenacity backed up fighter courage and tenacity. Together they have twice insured our victory.

In any future war, therefore, an aggressor would know that his greatest chance for victory would lie in the sudden surprise attack against the production resources of the United States.

Let us consider (1) that this country will never strike the first blow; and (2) that the atomic age infinitely increases the advantage to any would-be aggressor. Those two statements demand our most serious consideration.

All this is pertinent to you, because the men and women you represent are producing hundreds of millions of dollars of vital defense products and are preparing a major part of those complicated technical devices required to defend this country in case of a new emergency.

Therefore you and your people are as much tied up in this security problem as am I, or anybody else in the Pentagon Building.

Together we assembled here at this convention, and all other Americans must now face a situation unique in the history of the United States. At this time, and for many years to come, there is only one possible enemy, only one country capable of any real aggression against us.

We know that for the first time, today, this minute, there is a country capable of delivering a devastating surprise attack against us through the air; and we know also that this country now has the equipment needed to deliver such an attack. We know, too, that the same country has made most significant advances in the field of atomic energy.

In the past war, however, there were raids that were even more devastating than the atomic strikes against Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In that connection, an excerpt from the great report made two years ago by the President's Air Policy Commission, entitled "Survival in the Air Age," said in part:

"In focusing our attention on the weapons of mass destruction we must not minimize the other, more conventional weapons. These are

comparable in destructive power, when used in large quantity, to atomic bombs, as the cities of Germany and Japan will testify. And it is certain that conventional weapons will be developed in the next few years so that their destructive power will be even greater than in World War II."

True enough, but the apprehension we have today will increase steadily in the future, month by month and year by year, maybe sometimes day by day, because that country now shares knowledge of the atomic bomb. As to that, the same epochal report states:

"Nevertheless, it is the mass-destruction weapons which now exist and almost surely will be developed within the next few years which radically change the strategic needs of the United States. An enemy has to have air superiority, a great industrial production and a very large fleet of aircraft if it is to overwhelm a country by using conventional weapons only. But an enemy can inflict enormous damage with the mass-destruction weapons even if he does not have air superiority. The possession by an enemy of these weapons, in quantity, changes all the rules and requires a different strategy by a nation which may be attacked"

Because of the development of the air age, we have lost much of the effectiveness of perhaps our two greatest allies; namely, the oceans and the polar wastes; and as we grow steadily closer geographically, again because of air power development, it is only common sense to recognize the possible peril of our new position, especially if the rulers of any particular nation decide they cannot live on the same planet with our democratic form of government.

Now these are facts—facts well known and often stated; but there is a strange psychological tendency to get used to known facts, and thus to discount their importance—a tendency which can be disastrous, for familiarity and repetition of a fact does not make it any less a fact.

We as a nation are a relatively comfortable and happy people; perhaps the happiest and most comfortable people the world has ever known. As a nation we are healthy, both in body and in mind.

It is a psychological tendency for normal healthy human beings, however, to become accustomed to danger. So far as this tendency reduces the paralyzing effects of fear, it is a good thing. So far as it leads to discounting the danger and failing to provide against it, it can lead to disaster.

Recently there has been much talk about how any possible future war would be fought. One group constantly promotes articles by relatively unknown scientists and other self-styled experts featuring both the immorality and the ineffectiveness of possible atomic warfare. I believe that general line of thought, playing down the incredibly rapid technical strides incident to current war planning, entails the grave danger of lulling our people into a false sense of security, and therefore inviting national calamity. The atomic bomb must be recognized for what it is—a terrible new weapon in modern war. General Bradley recently gave Congress his judgment on the bomb in these words: "As a believer in humanity I deplore its use, and as a soldier, I respect it."

On the other hand, there have been rapid strides in research and development of weapons of defense—such rapid strides that outstanding scientists feel before many years the capabilities of defense will overcome the

capabilities of offense. This is part of the theme of a current book written by a great scientist.

It is significant to note, however, that perhaps the chief reason why this scientist depreciates the power of attack as against defense is because of what a country attacked might have in the way of highly developed technical equipment for defense; significant because what he says other countries would have to defend themselves against our bombers, radar warning screens, etc., are not available for the defense of this country; and if we don't hurry up, they won't be available for many years to come.

America must face up to the cost of adequate defense, because you just can't measure security in dollars and cents.

In turn we must obtain that security at absolute minimum cost to the taxpayer; and your able Secretary of Defense, Louis Johnson, is trying to accomplish just that.

Until some day there is world control of force in this air-atomic age, America must have a strong team of land, and sea and air, even if the cost of such strength affects our standard of living. Anything, however, would be preferable to our joining the millions of political and economic slaves now serving arrogant masters in other parts of the world.

Now it is just as important to have loyal Americans working in our plants and our unions as it is to have them in our Armed Forces. Total war requires loyalty on all fronts, including the home front. As I look over this assembly of earnest Americans, embarking on a great new adventure, and consider why you are assembled this week in the city that preserves the Bell which once sounded our liberty, I would remind some others who are not here of a sign that was popular all over America during the recent war, namely, "Our Country—love it or leave it."

As mentioned, you and the companies you work with are heavy suppliers of your Air Force. You can't blame the Air Force for being conscious and concerned about only loyal Americans working on our Air Force contracts. On that team there is room for nobody but loyal Americans. That is the only policy which can give us security; and security is essential if we are to pass on to our children the heritage of free people.

I am mighty proud and honored to be asked to come here today to make this short talk before you people. I have been associated with this Union almost since the days I left school. I think you have a great leader and I think you have a great future, and I wish you the best of luck. Thank you.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Will the members of the Resolutions Committee please come forward and meet with your Chairman and Secretary in the wing of the stage, on my right.

SPECIAL STATEMENT

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I have a special statement that I would like to make to the Convention and perhaps receive the Convention's approval of this statement.

I have been conscious of course, of the kind of propaganda that has been passed out at the local gates by the Commies. I notice as an example of the kind of literature they have been distributing there are statements such as this, indicating the kind of blows that have been directed against the interests of our Union. There is one piece of literature entitled, "Carey's 'Blitz' Fizzles in Bid to Move In on UE."

It says:

"The first blow was the injunction by Federal Judge in Philadelphia telling the rump convention that it could not call itself 'UE' or 'UE-CIO.' They have to dig up their own name.

"The second blow was a bunch of court injunctions preventing Carey, Callahan, Kelley, and their crew from pirating funds, property, and contracts belonging to UE.

"The third blow was the refusal by General Electric and other companies to bargain with the rump union. Carey's thousand telegrams (called by Wellington Roe in the Berkshire Eagle, 'A serious blunder') boomeranged and all he got was a bill from Western Union and a 'tell-off' from Boulware of GE.

"And the fourth blow," it says, "the fourth, and most serious, blow"—which I might suggest is an outright lie—"to the rump union was the refusal of hundreds of thousands of UE members throughout the country to be bludgeoned into giving up their UE union, charters, contracts, and wage gains and conditions won by UE during the past 14 years. In meetings from Lynn, Massachusetts, to California, in big UE centers like Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Cleveland, the UE members said 'No, thanks' to the Carey rump outfit."

It is those first three blows I now make reference to. I did make a statement yesterday with regard to the courts of our land. Some of our newspapers apparently did not give the complete statement; and I would not care to have any decent judge offended. As to the indecent judges, they can interpret this statement as they care to.

"This International Union and its affiliate locals are being harassed by federal and state courts throughout the country in its present campaign to increase its membership. Seemingly the courts, instead of taking cognizance of matters of general knowledge in this community, are preferring to deal with these problems in terms of dry and dead court precedent and intricate questions of law.

"Like other members of the Administrative Committee and officers of our various local unions, I have been quoted in the public press to the effect that we intend to defy the courts. If by that statement it is meant that I intend to affirm the integrity of our courts against the onslaught of the Moscow-directed Communist Party, the statement is quite accurate.

"Taking my position in its worst connotation, I want to make it clear that the American public has always retained the right to defy the courts when a question of their legal rights and human rights was concerned.

"Many newspaper publishers, editors and writers have joined in this type of defiance to maintain against uninformed or malicious court action the freedom of the press. Some of them have gone to jail in defense of the principle. Businessmen have repeatedly done likewise. It is the American way of doing things. Our national history began with such an incident, when a group of patriots in calm defiance of all law, went out into Boston Harbor and threw a cargo of tea overboard in order to prevent the imposition of a tax which they deemed unjust.

"A number of our judges throughout the country seem to be woefully uninformed not only as to the law, but as to the facts, in this tidal wave of lawsuits that has been launched against our union and its local affiliates by the Communists in the defunct UE.

"In one such case a federal judge actually issued an injunction prohibiting the members of the defending local union from holding a meeting, from electing officers, from making a decision, and from using their own money as they saw fit. When this gentleman's ruling was challenged, his response was that he was concerned with a point of contract law. He apparently was so busy looking for law points that he failed to realize that the dispute before him was a dispute in equity. He completely overlooked, for instance, the first rule of equity, which is, that the petitioner in such a case must come into court with clean hands. If he had scrutinized the hands of the petitioners in the case he would have recognized them as the greedy hands of Joseph Stalin reaching into an American court to seize what did not belong to him.

"If these judges are not aware of the facts involved they might engage themselves in a study of all the factors involved.

"In the first place all persons in this country are guaranteed the right to assemble publicly to petition for redress of grievances.

"Secondly, the officers holding office in our affiliated local unions have been elected democratically by their constituents, and the common law vests them with the right to administer the affairs of those local unions in keeping with the charge given them by their constituents.

"Thirdly, the money and other assets of those affiliated local unions belongs to the membership of the local unions. There is absolutely no question about that. The taxes due through former affiliation with the defunct UE have been paid in per capita amounts up to the time of disaffiliation of the various local unions from the defunct UE. The money now in any local union treasury came from the pay envelopes of the workers in the respective plants. It is their money. No one will be permitted to seize it or to prevent its expenditure as its owners decree.

"The membership of our International Union is determined to resist legalistic maneuvers by Communists or by anyone allied with them, to seize their property, to prevent their use of that property, or to conduct their affairs as they themselves determine in meetings called for the purpose by their duly elected officers.

"We believe it high time that the various judges and courts stop blinding themselves to the plain facts of life. They should not permit emissaries of a potential enemy of the United States, who have openly derided and sought to destroy our courts and our laws and our institutions, to avail themselves of the protection of a government and local system which they openly despise.

"I repeat, it is our firm intention to maintain the integrity of our courts. We would like to have support from the courts in the process but we intend to maintain their integrity even without the support of certain judges."

I move adoption of this statement. All those in favor of the declaration of this policy signify by rising to your feet; those opposed will please rise to your feet.

The declaration has been adopted by the rising standing unanimous vote of this Convention.

I have asked the staff to provide all the news men and women with copies of the statement as presented so there will be no question as to our attitude.

I now call upon the Chairman of the Committee on Constitution for a further report. Chairman Block.

REPORT OF CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE

Delegate Harry Block, Chairman of the Constitution Committee, submitted the following report:

ARTICLE XV

News Organ

Section A. The Union shall issue an official news organ to serve the membership of this Union. The President shall have the power to appoint an editor from the paid officers to be responsible for the editorial and news content of the news organ.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption.

DELEGATE WALTER Local 165: Mr. Chairman, I believe that everyone here is doing everything with best intentions and trying to do the right thing. However, I think we are leaving entirely too much unsaid as we draw up our constitution. For one thing, I believe we should elaborate a little bit more on this particular clause in our constitution, stating once and for all that the newspaper will be available to anyone and everyone that cares to discuss a controversial issue concerning this organization. I sat in a Convention a few years ago and I saw that question come up in the UE Convention and I know for a fact this group right here now were trying to get their side of the story on whether or not the old UE was being run in a democratic manner before the entire membership of the UE through the medium of the UE News, and I heard the very men, the very leaders of the UE who professed to be running the organization in a democratic manner stand up one after another Matles, Emspak, and Fitzgerald, and took the floor against that motion. They insisted that sort of thing was not beneficial to the organization.

I think there is only one way to set up a constitution to run an organization in a democratic manner, and that is to not overlook anything whatsoever that can possibly be turned around by those who come in power later on.

I have helped to negotiate quite a few contracts in our shop, and time after time we have argued about a certain clause in that contract and I have been told, "We are negotiating in good faith; we know what we mean here," and my answer has always been, "Yes, we know what we mean, and we may trust the integrity of those sitting around the table negotiating the contract, that it will be administered in the proper manner, but we don't know what is going to happen in the next hour, the next day, or the next year." I certainly think instead of having to fight a little bit later on to have our constitution changed that it would be a whole lot better if we would write these things into our constitution now guaranteeing the very things that caused us to withdraw from the old UE, the very reasons we have drawn away from the old UE, that they are not potentially set up in this new constitution.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: So we will know what we are talking about, are you opposed to the recommendation of the committee?

DELEGATE WALTER: I am not opposed to it; I would like to see it more clearly stated that this news organ will be available to all parties in any controversial issues—something that has been denied in the old UE.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: It is quite possible that suggestion is covered in another provision in the constitution.

DELEGATE DECHANT, Local 119: I agree with the former speaker about the news organ. I think there should be some provisions in the constitution. I know you, Jim, when you were President before, you had Views and News of the People, and I think you are going to put that in again, but maybe you won't always be there or someone of your caliber. I think the brother's intention is to have something to protect the people in the future in the constitution, even though it is approval or criticism the members should be allowed to have their say in that newspaper.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Any further discussion on the subject matter before the Convention, the adoption of the Committee's recommendation?

A DELEGATE Local 610: On that news organ, I would suggest the same clause be put in there for the President's power that was put in an earlier Article about representatives, and so forth, that it should be subject to the approval of the Executive Board so that in the case in the future where maybe the people feel the News is biased, one side or another on a controversial issue, that their representatives on the Executive Board will have a say-so with the President on whether or not the editor is following the proper path. I think there should be something in there the Executive Board should have some say-so.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Would this cover your point: The Executive Board shall at any time require from any officer a full and detailed statement of account of any action or business done in the name of the Union?

If that is adopted by this Convention it would cover this provision. It is impossible to write it in every one of the other provisions in the constitution.

A DELEGATE, Local 610: I think possibly, Mr. Chairman, it would cover it, but I can just see our enemies pointing out—they won't go into detail to show the public about these other things—I can see them saying, "The President will have the power to appoint an editor from the paid officers to be responsible for the editorial and news content of the news organ." It sounds like a one-sided issue. I think it would be very simple in there to cover it in a more democratic manner.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I think the statement of the Committee is unquestionably clear on this. You have the elected officers held responsible for the official organ of the Union. You have the Chief Officer held responsible for his action by the Executive Board. The Executive Board has the power to secure an accounting of all the actions of any officer. I don't know what more you can do other than that, unless it is to write into our constitution that the UE News stinks, we had some bad experience with the UE News, but this provision did not govern the operations of that sheet. I think this provision certainly makes the operation of our official organ responsible to the needs of the membership. It is not just a question of delegating, power here, there, and the other place; it is placing the responsibility where it properly belongs, with the necessary safeguards and checks to see that the sheet, the newspaper, the official organ, is the kind of organ that represents the interests of the membership. I think we have adequate safeguards and protections as it stands here, and you can hold your elected officers responsible for the carrying out of this charge you have given them.

The question is on the adoption of the Committee's recommendation. All those in favor say aye; those opposed.

The ayes have it unanimously, and it is so ordered.

ARTICLE XVI

Affecting Locals

Section A. No individual shall be eligible to hold office in any local union affiliated with the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) who is a member of the Communist Party or who consistently pursues policies and activities directed toward the achievement of the program or the purposes of the Communist Party, or of any other totalitarian or fascist organization. Additional qualifications for local officers may be presented in the local union constitution and by-laws.

The Committee recommended adoption, and the Committee's recommendation was unanimously carried.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: May I interrupt the report of the Committee to let you know we have another distinguished visitor with us. It might be surprising to some of you to know William Green is here. This is Bill Green, a Congressman from the city of Philadelphia. (Applause.)

I just want you to know Bill Green is known to the labor people of this city. He is an able champion of our cause, and it is a great pleasure to ask Joe Kelley to do the honors and pin a badge on Bill Green's lapel. Thanks very much, Bill.

MR. GREEN: Thanks, Jim.

Committee Chairman Block resumed the report of the Constitution Committee as follows:

ARTICLE XVI, SECTION B

Section B. SUPPLIES AND BOOKKEEPING.

The locals shall order and buy supplies from the Union which are necessary for conformity with the bookkeeping system in the Union. The Secretary-Treasurer shall furnish same upon receipt of monies.

The Committee recommended adoption of this section, and the recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XVI, SECTION C

Section C. UNION MEMBERSHIP.

Each local shall furnish the Union with a list of its members, and their addresses and shall send the name of each new member, names of members withdrawn, transferred or suspended and any other change that may affect such list.

The Committee recommended adoption, and the Committee's recommendation was unanimously carried.

ARTICLE XVI, SECTION D

Section D. INITIATION FEES AND PRIVILEGES.

Local Unions shall charge not less than two dollars (\$2.00) nor more than ten dollars (\$10.00) for each new member for initiation fee. No Local shall be allowed to take into its ranks any members without initiation fee unless special permission is secured from the President or Executive Board.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I would like to state this will not change the policy as recommended by the Administrative Committee, that the members of Local Unions in our industry shall not be required to pay any new initiation fee upon taking membership in the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO).

On the question of the Committee's recommendation, to be adopted, the Chair recognizes Delegate Blechinger.

DELEGATE BLECHINGER, Local 101: Is there any provision made in regard to the veteran's stamp that has been issued? I know in our Local they don't pay an initiation fee. Has the Constitution Committee taken that into consideration?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair cannot presume to know what they have taken into consideration. I will call it to the attention of the Committee.

DELEGATE BLECHINGER: Whether it would be left off with regard to initiations, and those excluded such as veterans. In lots of Locals for the last three or four years that has been done. So there will be no misconception in the minds of the delegates, such a provision should be instituted that veterans will have free initiations. Or will we consider that?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Committee will stand instructed there be no thought that the constitutional provisions covering the subject matter you have stated by a Local Union would be in any way in conflict with our International constitution, but in order to prevent any misunderstanding the Committee is instructed to provide a provision in the constitution in connection with the veterans of the armed services.

DELEGATE BLECHINGER: That the Convention adopt such a measure as an International-wide provision that veterans should be excluded from paying an initiation fee—

CHAIRMAN CAREY (Interposing): I said the Committee will be instructed to prepare and present a provision on that point.

DELEGATE DECHANT, Local 119: Under the General Electric contract, the agreement negotiated by the old UE, members can withdraw from the Union by sending a registered letter in 24 hours. Quite a few people have done that in our Local Union; and in signing these cards I wonder if we can't get a special dispensation. Some of these people already have dropped out. We can probably get them back.

DELEGATE LIEBERMAN, Local 202: In Local 202 occasionally we run into a case where a member has not joined or was over-looked, and then when a year has transpired we come upon that member and we tell that member it will cost him an initiation fee of \$15 to join our organization. Now with this initiation fee as stated here of no more than \$10 for each new member as an initiation fee, it seems to me as though our practice will have to be discontinued. Can the Chairman of the Constitution Committee correct me, or tell me if I am right or wrong, or what the practice will be?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: My interpretation—and I am sure the Committee Chairman agrees with me—if this provision is adopted by the Convention no Local Union will be permitted to charge more than \$10 initiation fee, and any Local Union that charges more than that or has charged more than that will be required to modify their practice.

DELEGATE MARY CALLAHAN, Local 105: As I understand it, the explanation that I want, it has been the practice in the Philadelphia area to honor all CIO transfers, not just the old UE or new international, IUE—do I understand we must cease accepting those transfers until we get permission from the Executive Board or permission of the International?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The subject matter before the Convention does not deal with transfers. That is taken up in another provision of the Constitution that will be reported shortly.

DELEGATE MARY CALLAHAN: It does not cover transfers later in the Constitution,—I can't find it.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: It will be reported, as I stated, later. The provision is that Local Unions shall charge not less than \$2 nor more than \$10 for each new member for initiation fee. No Local shall be allowed to take into its ranks any members without initiation fee unless special permission is secured from the President or Executive Board. We can, of course, arrange for permission from the Executive Board on any exceptions to that provision.

DELEGATE LIEBERMAN, Local 202: Would an amendment be in order to this part of the constitution to read, "No more than \$15 for each new member for initiation fee"? The reason I am objecting to this part of the constitution is because we feel it is not fair for a person to be in our plant for a year or more because of oversight or because of his own negligence in wanting to join our Union, to come in for a small fee of \$10. We feel \$15 is light enough. Therefore, I would like to ask the Chair if it is in order to make an amendment to the Constitution stating \$15 for each new member for initiation fee where it says \$10.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: It would be in order to make such an amendment should this recommendation be defeated.

DELEGATE BOWMAN, Local 601: I am rising on a point of order. My point of order is that an amendment does not have to be made after a motion is defeated. The amendment is made to the motion. Then if the amendment is defeated the motion is put on the floor.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I am not going to overrule the Convention action in this case, because the Convention is giving the Chairman clear instructions that committee reports receive priority. The vote will be taken on the Committee's report before any other vote is taken.

The question before the Convention is the adoption of the Committee's report, and it will be voted on before any amendment is considered.

DELEGATE PATTISON, Local 453: I arise against the adoption of this particular provision because I see a harm where many Locals have already built huge defense funds that members of that particular Union have been paying into over a period of years in order for other members that see now is a fit time to join that particular Local, they would be signing into a Union that has already accumulated a good sized fund by the contribution of their fellow members. I say instead of adopting this particular paragraph, that the particular paragraph should be voted down and the particular Local in itself should set its own initiation fee in the amounts of \$10, \$15, \$20, \$25, or \$30, whatever they see fit.

DELEGATE HASTEN, Local 710: We don't intend to make this an AF

of L union and charge people exorbitant initiation fees. I think we should accept the Committee's recommendation.

DELEGATE MOYER, Local 801: I speak against the recommendation. In the past in our shop we have had people that have opposed our Union throughout the years, and then comes along the day when they come to our representative with \$2 in their hand and ask to fight their case. These are the kind of people that should be made to pay the trade union organization. I am not saying we should put all people \$10, \$15, or \$20, but these are the people that should be charged \$100 to come into a union. I sincerely speak on behalf of my organization for the defeat of this motion.

DELEGATE LIEBERMAN, Local 202: I would like to make a motion this be referred back to the Committee to take into consideration the suggestions and ideas that are in the minds of the delegates here this afternoon. I make a motion to refer back to the Committee.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: A motion to refer back to the Committee is in order. The Chairman has a chance to speak in defense of the report of the Committee, even though there is a motion to refer it back to the Committee.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: Mr. Chairman, I come from a Local Union that has a union shop contract. I know that it would be a simple situation for my Local Union to set an initiation fee of practically any amount and be assured that every employee that goes in to work becomes a member of the Union and pays that initiation fee. Unless there is some sense, some reason behind initiation fees, it can get into a position of where instead of it being \$15 it becomes \$150, instead of it being used as a medium to bring members in it becomes a barrier and keeps people out.

We have had similar problems in local unions where employees in a plant refused to join for year after year, and then for some reason or other want to get in under the wire at a cheap figure. It is a pretty simple situation for a Local Union under those circumstances to amend its constitution or its minutes in such a fashion that where such individuals exist and they were in the plant for X number of months, that they not only pay the regular initiation fee but pay the back dues before you take them in the organization. You don't need a big initiation fee to do that. And unless it is done properly, \$5—the difference between \$10 and \$15 is \$5—it just means three months dues, so he stays out four months and beats you again; and if you keep raising it and have a different initiation fee for the employee hired the day before yesterday and the chap you want to nail to the wall, you are going to have a hodge-podge of initiation fees in a Local Union without getting across what you really want to accomplish.

\$10 is not too small and is not too large. If a Local Union has a problem to get these individuals who have been riding free all the time, place it on your books honestly, say, "You have been riding free while everybody has been paying dues, and if you don't come in now you will pay back dues when you come in."

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The question is to refer the report of the Committee back to the Committee. All those in favor of referring it back to the Committee say aye; those opposed no.

The noes appear to have it, and the ayes do have it.

On the Committee's report, all those in favor of the Committee's recommendation say aye; those opposed.

The ayes appear to have it; the ayes do have it, and it is so ordered.

ARTICLE XVI, SECTION E

Section E. DUES.

The minimum monthly dues shall be one dollar and fifty cents (\$1.50).

The definition of a good standing, delinquent or suspended member shall be determined by the constitution of the local to which the member belongs, but in no case shall a member be considered in good standing or entitled to any rights and privileges if the member is more than three months in arrears.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption of this section.

The motion was seconded.

DELEGATE SILVER: Mr. Chairman and members, I wanted to bring out as a constructive thought in the three months period about members who are sick. We have in the past allowed them to pay 10 cents per month while they are sick. I think that should be covered in the constitution.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Any further discussion on the recommendation of the Committee?

The point raised is covered under another section of the Committee's report. If the provision that covers it does not meet the approval of the delegate he can express his remarks at the time we discuss the unemployment stamp provision.

DELEGATE KENNEDY, Local 450: Mr. Chairman, I would like a little clarification, or maybe an explanation, of why no maximum amount of dues is put in this section. The argument that the Chairman of the Committee presented before as far as the initiation fee acting as a barrier, I think would tie in with a maximum amount put on the monthly dues.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Any other questions or further discussion?

All those in favor of the Committee's recommendation signify by saying aye; those opposed, no.

The ayes have it, and it is so ordered.

ARTICLE XVI, SECTION F

Section F. PER CAPITA STAMPS.

Per capita stamps shall be furnished by the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), the design to be registered and this to be the only official stamp to be issued, unless some alternate method is authorized by the Executive Board where the check-off is in practice. Any member employed ten (10) days or more in any given month shall pay full monthly dues.

Any local may charge up to ten cents (10c) per month for unemployment stamps. Unemployment stamps may be used by locals for unemployed members. For each unemployment stamp used, five cents (5c) shall be forwarded to the Union.

Section F was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XVI, SECTION G

Section G. REINSTATEMENTS.

No local shall charge less than the regular amount of the initiation fee for reinstatement. Fifty per cent (50%), but not exceeding two dollars (\$2.00), of the amount collected must be forwarded to the Union.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's recommendation.

DELEGATE BOWMAN, Local 601: I rise to speak against the motion now on the floor on the basis that I don't feel that any member who drops out of the Union, whether it be during the escape clause period or for reasons that he may see fit to do it, should be allowed to come back into that Union for the same amount of money of a new member coming in. I feel it is wrong for the people who are good members and who remain in the Union to be put in the same category as somebody who is weak-kneed and drops out of the Union. I don't like it that he can come back for a lousy \$2 and then be put on the same level as the people who have been fighting all along for his gain. I think it is wrong that he should be allowed to come back into that Union for \$2.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I call the attention of the delegate to the recommendation of the Committee. This recommendation leaves the judgment to the Local. It does provide, however, for no less than the regular initiation fee. If in the judgment of the Local Union they think it should be more, this provision of the constitution would make that possible.

The Motion to adopt the Committee's recommendation was carried, with one delegate voting no.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Will the delegate who voted no kindly listen to the explanations given? I stated very clearly that this provision states "no less" and that we leave to the judgment of the Local Union the determination of how much more, in the opinion of the Local Union, he should be charged for reinstatement.

A DELEGATE: I withdraw my "no" vote, Mr. Chairman.

The report of the Committee was continued, as follows:

ARTICLE XVI, SECTION H

Section H. STRIKE STAMPS.

Any member on strike more than ten (10) days shall be entitled to strike stamps.

Section H was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XVI, SECTION I

Section I. STRIKE PROCEDURE.

A local calling a strike in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution shall, immediately after the strike is called, submit all information pertaining to the strike with a list of names of the members on strike to the Secretary-Treasurer on special forms supplied by the Union. Upon receipt of such information, the Secretary-Treasurer shall send to the local Financial Secretary the necessary number of strike stamps. The Financial Secretary shall submit the regular monthly financial report. He shall list the number of strike stamps used during the month. At the conclusion of the strike, the local shall submit the final report of the strike on forms supplied by the Secretary-Treasurer and shall mail all remaining strike stamps to the Secretary-Treasurer. Members failing to return to work after the termination of the strike may be given out-of-work stamps for the period following the month the strike was terminated.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption of Section I.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's recommendation.

DELEGATE LaPIERRE, Local 288: I think that the heading of this Section I is wrong. It says "Procedure Before Strike," and everything pertaining to this section is what takes place after a strike has been called.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: That is an editorial suggestion, to strike out the word "before." The Committee is authorized, if the Convention should adopt this report, to make the change suggested, making the caption read "Strike Procedure" instead of "Procedure Before Strike."

The question before the Convention is the adoption of the recommendation of the Committee.

DELEGATE COPELAND, Local 601: I understand from the Chairman of the Committee that unemployed members or members with out-of-work stamps will not be given the privilege of voting at a Convention. Is that correct?

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: When the Brother asked me for the difference—and it is not contained in this particular section—when the Brother asked me the difference between a strike stamp and an unemployed stamp, or out-of-work stamp, the difference as outlined in this Constitution, as it will be acted on, if not acted upon already shows the actual line of demarcation. When we come to voting strength, if there is any change to be made it would be made there. But at the moment the past procedure has always been that strike stamps receive one kind of consideration, out-of-work stamps another.

The motion to adopt the recommendation of the Committee was carried.

ARTICLE XVI, SECTION J

Section J. PUNISHMENT FOR FAILURE TO COMPLY.

Any local failing to comply with the provisions of this Article shall not be entitled to strike stamps, shall be given voting strength at the Convention only on paid per capita to the Union divided by twelve (12) months and may be declared delinquent or suspended in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution governing delinquency and suspension of locals. Locals receiving strike stamps shall be entitled to representation at the Convention on the basis of actual paid per capita payments divided by the number of months for which payments were made.

Section J was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XVI, SECTION K

Section K. MONTHLY FINANCIAL REPORT.

Each local Financial Secretary shall, by the 20th of each month, submit to the Secretary-Treasurer a financial report for the previous month covering the amount of per capita and initiations due to the Union. A check or money order covering the amount due shall accompany these monthly financial statements.

Section K was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XVI, SECTION L

Section L. A DELINQUENT LOCAL.

Any local failing to send in to the Union by the 20th of the month the financial report for the previous month and the per capita and initiations

due on such report shall be notified by the Secretary-Treasurer and declared delinquent.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption of this section.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's recommendation.

A DELEGATE (Name not given): A point of information here. It stated here the 20th of the month. That means by the 20th of the following month?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Quite correct.

DELEGATE SIMPSON, Local 101: Does that mean, Mr. Chairman, that in one month any Local could become delinquent?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: It does.

DELEGATE SIMPSON: And under the old UE Communist-dominated Union it was three months, is that correct?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: It means exactly what it says.

DELEGATE YOUNG, Local 435: Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that there should be a grace period here. Suppose the Financial Secretary should get sick and be unable to comply with this requirement. Would the Local be declared delinquent?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: If the Local has not paid its dues it is delinquent, right.

DELEGATE YOUNG: It doesn't say that, it says that any Local failing to send in to the Union by the 20th of the month the financial report for the previous month and the per capita and initiations due on such report shall be notified by the Secretary-Treasurer. I say, suppose the Financial Secretary should become sick and unable to comply with this requirement.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Then the Local becomes delinquent. If the Local has not paid its dues or fulfilled the requirements of the constitution it is delinquent. As to whether or not justifiable cause has made that necessary, the provision simply says that the Secretary-Treasurer shall notify the Local Union that the Local is delinquent.

DELEGATE YOUNG. I understand that, Mr. Chairman, but I still feel there should be a 15-day grace period, or some grace period.

A DELEGATE (Name not given): I believe in the next article there is a 40-day grace period. There is no penalty for being delinquent as far as I can see.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: There is none, you are right, but there is no question but if your dues are not paid on time you are delinquent. That is what it says. This article requires the Secretary-Treasurer to notify the Local Union when it does not fulfill the requirements of the constitution.

All those in favor of the adoption of the section as recommended will say aye. Those opposed, no.

The ayes have it, and it is unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XVI, SECTION M

Section M. AUDIT OF BOOKS OF DELINQUENT LOCAL.

The Secretary-Treasurer may order an audit of the books of any local which has been delinquent for thirty (30) days. The local officers shall submit all books and records for such an audit to the designated Union rep-

representative. The Executive Board shall then take whatever action it deems necessary.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption of this section.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's recommendation.

DELEGATE WISE, Local 768: A point of information. Who pays the cost of auditing of these delinquent Locals?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: In this particular case the Local would stand the cost of auditing the books. It doesn't mean it is an automatic arrangement by which an audit will be ordered when a Local Union is delinquent. It just states the Secretary-Treasurer may order an audit of the books of any Local which has been delinquent for 30 days, etc.

The motion to adopt the Committee's recommendation was carried.

ARTICLE XVI, SECTION N

Section N. CONTINUED DELINQUENCY.

If any local fails to send in the monthly report and per capita and initiations due within forty (40) days from the date of delinquency, the Secretary-Treasurer shall so notify the President, who may then institute proceedings for the revocation or suspension of the local union charter, under Article XVII of this Constitution.

Section N was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XVII

Suspension or Revocation of Local Union Charters

Section A. In the event the President shall have reason to believe that any Local Union is failing to comply with any provision of the Constitution, he may institute proceedings upon the alleged violations, with due notice of hearing before any duly designated member or not less than 3 members of the Executive Board. Upon the basis of the hearing the Executive Board is authorized to render a decision dismissing the charges of alleged violations, suspending or revoking the charter of any such Local Union or directing such other action as may be necessary to secure compliance with the Constitution. The decision of the Executive Board may be appealed to the next Convention; provided, however, that pending the appeal the decision of the Executive Board shall remain in full force and effect.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption of this section.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's recommendation.

DELEGATE BEYERS, Local 101: A point of information—where it says he may institute proceedings upon the alleged violations, etc., before any duly designated member or members of the Executive Board. Does that mean one member of the Executive Board could hold a hearing, Mr. Chairman?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: One member of the Executive Board can represent the Executive Board on questions where one member would be sufficient. You have the right of appeal, however, to the Executive Board, if it is the desire to have the whole Executive Board consider the matter. But in any event the one representative of the Executive Board would merely serve to represent the Board.

DELEGATE BEYERS: I think anything coming before the Executive Board should apply as it did in the previous articles, where there should be two-thirds of the Board to hear and pass judgment on the matter, making sure that you have a representative Board to have your charges either sustained or dismissed. I would recommend that to the Constitution Committee that it be not one member of the Board, but as in the other provision two-thirds of the members of the Board.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: If one reads the section closely he will see that it does not give the one member of the Board authority to make any decision. It says that the Executive Board as a whole will make that decision. Oftentimes it is quite proper that to hear a particular case, to go over a situation, one or more members of the Board may do it, and they will make their recommendations to the Executive Board, and the Executive Board as a whole will make the decision.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: You have heard the recommendation of the Committee.

DELEGATE PETERSON, Local 425: Actually I am a bit confused. I can't understand, unless they want to point out exactly to me, what they have in mind, how it is that the Committee could endorse this recommendation. I see in it a very dangerous trend and possibility.

In the first place, I don't like the designation of one member of the Executive Board as a trial committee, although it must be voted upon by the entire Executive Board. Nevertheless, they are taking the recommendations of the one man. And furthermore, I don't like the District Council being skipped. I feel that in case of a Local being brought up for violation of the constitution surely the members who are familiar with the group should have something to say about it. I know we are all under the influence of the fact that we are with people with whom we have been fighting for years, but as time goes on new people will be elected, and while we know everybody up there now is our friend, the day may come when people who are not of the same mind as yours will be sitting in positions of authority. And suppose one Local brings out a man who is starting to campaign against the National Office? Will they be able to suspend that Local and keep them from taking part in the functions of the Local until the Convention meets? I think it is a very dangerous trend. I don't think it is meant that way but I don't think it should be accepted, because I don't believe we should leave ourselves open to the possibility of these things being used.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Under the constitution that is being submitted to this Convention the delegates here represent autonomous Local Unions affiliated with an International Union. You provide a measure of protection against abuse by any continuing system that was adopted in our industry of double and sometimes treble jeopardy where Local Unions or individuals would be held in jeopardy, subject to suspension over a long period of time.

It appears to me to be the intention of the Committee when they say "a member of the Executive Board," that that would quite likely apply in most cases, except extremely unusual cases, where the President of that particular District or the Secretary of that particular district would be a member of the Executive Board. So you are not junking the District machinery by any means and you are providing a simple method by which a local union can defend its interests.

If you say that a Local Union shall appear before all the members of the Executive Board it could be charged that you are sending in Board members maybe from other areas in sufficient number to intimidate the Local Union officers. Quite frankly, the system suggested here is a better system than those suggested from the floor. It gives adequate protection, it gives adequate right of appeal, it does not provide for suspension before hearing, or anything of that nature, by someone representing the Executive Board in dealing with the Local Union. I think the situation as presented here provides a very democratic method that would preserve the interests of the Local Unions as well as those on all other levels of our organization.

On the question of the Committee's report all those in favor will signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.

The Chair is in doubt on the yea and nay vote. All those in favor of the Committee's report will please rise to their feet. Those opposed will please rise.

The Chair is still in doubt. The matter will be referred back to the Committee. The Chair recommends that those who expressed strong views on the subject appear before the committee, so that a unanimous recommendation can be brought before this Convention.

I would also suggest that those who are appearing before the Committee read the provision before they appear, because quite frankly I believe some of these things are being voted against without a clear understanding of what the provision contains.

The Chair recognizes the Committee.

Chairman Block continued the report of the Committee as follows:

ARTICLE XVII, SECTION B

Section B. In the event a plant, which constitutes the sole jurisdiction of a Local Union, is abandoned, the Secretary-Treasurer, with the consent of the Executive Board, may revoke the charter of said Local Union.

Section B was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XVII, SECTION C

Section C. In the event of a suspension of a Local Union, the members thereof and the Local Union shall not be deemed to be in good standing during the period of suspension.

Section C was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XVII, SECTION D

Section D. In the event that a Local Union's charter is revoked under Section B of this Article, or that a Local Union disbands or dissolves the local Secretary and Trustees shall send all funds and property belonging to the local to the Secretary-Treasurer. The Secretary-Treasurer shall hold this property intact for one (1) year. If within that time an application is made by at least fifteen (15) former members, a charter will be reissued and the funds and the property returned. Should no application be made within the year, the funds and property shall revert to the Union.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption of Section D.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's report.

DELEGATE MORTON, Local 524: I would just like to point out, if

you are going to hold that for a year and it is possible for that particular plant to go dead and then to be reestablished, is it necessary to have those all former members? Would it not be better to have that at least 15 members, because I can visualize a place where you would have 10 former members and they have new ones, and I don't think you should put anything in the way of new Locals being established. I would like the Committee to consider that.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: We have had situations where Locals have gone down in membership. I have in mind one in particular in St. Louis, which went from about 18,000 down to a mere handful. If it went out of existence entirely and then reopened on a small basis, 15 new employees being hired, they would have taken over a treasury of thousands of dollars, to which they did not contribute a cent or put forth any organizational activity.

We used the figure of 15 former members because that was the number set up to get a charter. If we start taking on any other number, we are going to pick on 10, and somebody will say, why not 9, then somebody will say, why not 8, and before you know it there won't have to be any. The idea was to be consistent with the application for the charter from the original group, using the same number of people, but using people who did something or were part of an organization and helped build it and not leave it to anyone who didn't do anything toward the building of that organization.

DELEGATE CUSHING, Local 201: Here we are, Mr. Chairman, confronted with the same type of a clause in this constitution that has every one of us in court today. It is the same type of thing that we are proclaiming to the high heavens is undemocratic. We say those treasuries belong to the Local Union membership, and still we say here that it goes to the International Union. Mr. Chairman, we have to be consistent, we have to change this thing somehow to give protection to the Local Unions if they care to disaffiliate. I am not here preaching disaffiliation, but the Local Unions have to have that right.

I move that it be sent back to the Committee for reconsideration.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: As I understand section D it reads:

"In the event that a Local Union's charter is revoked under Section B of this Article, or that a Local Union disbands or dissolves the local Secretary and Trustees shall send all funds and property belonging to the local to the Secretary-Treasurer. The Secretary-Treasurer shall hold this property intact for one (1) year. If within that time, an application is made by at least fifteen (15) former members, a charter will be re-issued and the funds and the property returned. Should no application be made within the year, the funds and property shall revert to the Union."

Now as I understand that provision it merely states—and it is not the same provision that has endangered the interest of our Union before—this is in the event a Local Union disbands and has no way to hold in escrow the funds and properties of the Local Union. It will be that the Secretary-Treasurer is authorized to hold those funds and properties for a reorganized Local Union. Where would the delegate suggest that they be held?

DELEGATE CUSHING: Mr. Chairman, the charter was revoked. The charter could very well be revoked by the Executive Board and then we would find ourselves, or any Local Union which wishes to disaffiliate would find it-

self in the same position we are in here today. I don't know exactly what the phraseology should be.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I think you have a point that the Local Unions are in a bad position today in some instances, but please point out what you would do to cover the situation where a Local Union is disbanding, where there is no one to hold the properties of a Local Union.

DELEGATE CUSHING: Mr. Chairman, if it says "disband" I would have no objection whatsoever, but it says "revoked," and there is where the danger comes in, where if a Local wishes to disaffiliate you could revoke the charter and call it revocation instead of disaffiliation, because you would have more court cases and be involved in the same cases we are involved in now.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: It says "revoked." Under section B of this Article it says: "In the event a plant, which constitutes the sole jurisdiction of the Local Union, is abandoned, the Secretary-Treasurer, with the consent of the Executive Board, may revoke the charter of said Local Union."

You take section B and you put that in that paragraph, and now you have a provision dealing with plants that have gone away, Local Unions that are abandoned and Local Unions where the Local is disbanded or dissolved. Those are the only three categories.

DELEGATE CUSHING: Mr. Chairman, is it my understanding that a revocation would not tie up a Local Union if they wished to disaffiliate from this organization?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: It is not covered by this provision. This provision merely covers plants that are leaving the Local Unions without membership or dissolving or disbanding the Local Union.

DELEGATE CUSHING: Then the word "revoke" will be taken out, is that so?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: No, sir. Where the charter is revoked, under section B it stays in. Section B merely refers to jurisdictions that are no longer in existence. It doesn't mean anything other than what it says.

DELEGATE CUSHING: I am not speaking of disaffiliation. I just joined this organization and I am not preaching disaffiliation and I have no intention of doing so. I am trying to think in the future, if something should happen. The word "revoke" is clear enough to me and I know the interpretation placed on the UE constitution, and it is not the explanation they are using now in the courts. I say, Mr. Chairman, this is a dangerous provision and the Committee should give it due consideration. That is why I made a motion to refer back to the Committee.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: A motion to refer back to the Committee would indicate an expression of the Convention that the Convention understands the proposal and does not agree with it. If there is confusion regarding the provision, don't refer it back to the Committee. Read it yourself. The Committee seems to understand what they intend in this recommendation, the Committee is not confused. The Committee understands that this provision covers a certain set of circumstances. If you attempt to attribute to this provision circumstances that are not covered by this provision, referring it back to the Committee will not bring clarity by any means.

DELEGATE DALLAS SMITH: A point of order, Mr. Chairman, or rather I should state a point of information instead of a point of order. I would like to ask if the Committee is prepared to include or propose to

this Convention an article on disaffiliation, or whether this is the entire text as it has been given to the delegates.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee has not prepared any article on disaffiliation and I want to make my statement complete. If the Committee had any idea of tying up local funds they would have definitely used the words "secession" and "disaffiliation." Where the headache that some of you are confronted with arose before is in the fact that the constitution read not only "dissolution" but it covers secession, disaffiliation, dissolving, and everything else. The words "secession" and "disaffiliation" have purposely been left out, so that there is freedom of action in that particular direction.

DELEGATE DALLAS SMITH: I would like to speak in opposition to the acceptance of the article. Too many of us have had interpretations of constitutions that have been detrimental to us as Locals, and I speak in opposition because it says "or that a Local Union disbands."

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Will the delegate please address himself to the subject under consideration by the Convention? The proposal before this Convention is to deal with disbanding locals that no longer have jurisdiction, where plants have been moved and the Locals have been dissolved. There is no other question before this Convention except those questions covered by the recommendation of the Committee.

Does the delegate have a suggestion of what to do with regard to disbanding Locals, Locals that no longer have jurisdiction, or Locals that have dissolved?

DELEGATE DALLAS SMITH: District 9 delegates did present to the Constitution Committee a provision that they thought adequate, and that was the reason I asked whether it would be given consideration or whether they had given it consideration to present to this assembly.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I understand it has been given consideration, but they are not reporting on that at this time.

DELEGATE DALLAS SMITH: Will it be reported on later?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: They may not report it. That is up to the Committee. You should appear before the Committee on that particular provision, but that is not the provision we now have under consideration.

DELEGATE DALLAS SMITH: May I speak in opposition to the one that is before the Convention, then?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Certainly.

DELEGATE DALLAS SMITH: I am in opposition to this proposal because of the fact that disbanding and dissolving of a Local in this instance is not tied in definitely with the plant closing down. A Local does disband when it disaffiliates from the organization. It disbands as a Local in this organization, so we may very well find ourselves in the same position some years hence as we find ourselves now. I speak in opposition to it and hope it will be referred back to the Committee, that it will be more definite and clear, so we all know where we will stand, not only as of today, but in the years from now.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: I don't think I could go to the membership of any of the Local Unions represented here on this Convention floor and say to them that you disbanded. Oh, they understand—they

voted as Local Unions to disaffiliate from one group and to affiliate with another group. There was no disbanding of the Local Union and there was no dissolving of the Local Unions. The Local Unions stayed intact and moved. I think we are confusing something with some wording in the Constitution I want to read: "Disbanding, dissolution, secession, or disaffiliation of any Local Union." We are quoting those words which were in the old UE constitution and you are getting them confused with the Constitution provision now before us. The Local moves as a body, it takes its contract with it, it takes its treasury with it, it doesn't disband, it is part of that Local Union and has not disbanded, and I think the sooner we get that clarification across in Local 101—Local 101 voted to disaffiliate from the UE and affiliate with the IUE. Now there is no disbanding of the Local Union.

DELEGATE RATH, Local 601: I would like to make a suggestion to the Constitution Committee in regard to the disposal of the funds in this situation. There are two types of Locals here. I don't quarrel with the way the provision is written except that in the last sentence it says that the funds and the properties shall revert to the Union. I would like to suggest that that be changed because this money does not belong to the International Union, it belongs to the members of the Local Unions who donated it and paid their dues into those Local Unions. I would like to suggest that it be changed to read that the funds and property shall be donated to the Salvation Army.

DELEGATE HOFFMAN, Local 805: I wish to speak in defense of this amendment.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Do I understand you to say that you want to speak against the amendment?

DELEGATE HOFFMAN: I want to speak for this amendment.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: That is, that the money go to the Salvation Army?

DELEGATE HOFFMAN: No, sir. If we had a plant in one locality and you as a group worked in that plant and that plant is taken away to another district, what are they going to do if you have \$10,000 or \$15,000? Are you going to give it back to the International Union? I think the idea of talking about this being undemocratic is silly and I think we are wasting a lot of good time in this Convention arguing on a point like this. It clearly states that if this Union disbands. I think the amendment should go through as stated.

DELEGATE RATH, Local 601: I read section C as compared with section D, and I didn't go back to the right section. My humble apologies to the Convention. I see now clearly, and I am very sorry that I read section C instead of section B.

The question was called for.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair is of the opinion that you are ready to vote. The Chairman will be governed by the decision of the Convention. Is the Convention ready to vote on this portion of the Committee's recommendation?

(The Convention indicated it was prepared to vote.)

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Those in favor of this section of the Committee's report will say aye. Those opposed, no.

The ayes appear to have it—the ayes have it and it is so ordered.

ARTICLE XVII, SECTION E

Section E. After a charter of a Local Union has been revoked, the Executive Board may charter a new Local Union having the same jurisdiction as the Local Union whose charter was revoked.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption of this section.

DELEGATE SIMPSON, Local 101: Mr. Chairman, I have a question on that section.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: These Committees have been in session; there are members of these Local Unions that are serving on these committees, and I certainly hope the members on these committees can gain the confidence someday, sometime, of the members of their own Locals. I quite frankly think we are wasting a lot of time. Where your Local Union has a member on the Committee, he can answer your questions at the Committee hearings.

DELEGATE SIMPSON: Mr. Chairman, it is stated here in Section E that after a charter of a Local Union has been revoked the Executive Board may charter a new Local Union having the same jurisdiction as the Local Union whose charter was revoked. Does that mean, Mr. Chairman—

CHAIRMAN CAREY (Interposing): It means just what it says, that the Board may charter a new Local Union having the same jurisdiction as the Local Union whose charter was revoked.

DELEGATE SIMPSON: I am going to ask a question.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: You are asking me what it means when you know what it means.

DELEGATE SIMPSON: Does that mean the funds, within a year, shall revert to that Local, if it is within a year?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Does that section say it?

DELEGATE SIMPSON: It does not say it here.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: If it does not say it, it does not mean that.

DELEGATE SIMPSON: Thank you.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: You are welcome.

(The question was called for.)

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The question before the house is the adoption of Section E as recommended by the Committee. All those in favor say aye; those opposed, no.

The ayes have it and it is so ordered.

ARTICLE XVIII

Assessments

Section A. AMOUNT OF ASSESSMENTS.

Assessments upon the membership by the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) shall be levied only in the same manner as this Constitution may be amended. Assessments by local unions shall be permitted only if and as explicitly authorized by the local union's constitution.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption.

DELEGATE SNODGRASS, Local 1001: Brother Chairman, I rise to a point of information. There has been quite a bit of discussion with regard to disaffiliation, disbanding, and such, in the previous article. Now that we

have come to the end of this article, at any time during this Convention is it going to be possible to to bring the item of disaffiliation on this Convention floor?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: What is your point of information?

DELEGATE SNODGRASS: My point of information is there is nothing under Article XVII of the provisional constitution, which we have just now been studying and going over and adopting, there is nothing in there that applies to a disaffiliated Local or the disaffiliation of a Local from either this or any other organization a Local might belong to. These Locals are wanting something that will safeguard —

CHAIRMAN CAREY (Interposing): I couldn't hear your question.

DELEGATE SNODGRASS: Will there be an opportunity to bring anything on this Convention floor relating to disaffiliation of Local Unions?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The question of disaffiliation is not before the Convention at this time.

DELEGATE SNODGRASS: Will it be before the Convention?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I don't know. The Committee before it completes its report will provide ample opportunity for anyone to make comments on subjects not covered. We cannot anticipate whether the Committee will cover that in the balance of the report. You can raise your question when the report is completed.

All those in favor of the Committee's recommendation with regard to Article XVIII please say aye; those opposed, no.

The Committee's recommendation is unanimously carried, and it is so ordered.

ARTICLE XIX

Withdrawals and Transfers

Section A. WITHDRAWALS.

Withdrawals shall be issued by a local when it is decided by that body that such member is no longer working within the jurisdiction of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO). Such withdrawal cards to act as a paid-in-full initiation fee in any local in the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO). Withdrawal cards shall be supplied by the Union.

Section B. TRANSFER.

A transfer must be issued to a member (with or without request) who has left the jurisdiction of that local and obtains employment within the jurisdiction of a sister local. A transferred member must pay all financial obligations to the local he vacates before transfer is issued. No local may admit a member of another local until such obligations have been paid to the local from which the member vacates. Transfer cards shall be supplied by the Union.

Section C. DIRECT AFFILIATION.

In localities where there are not a sufficient number of workers in the electrical, radio and machine industry employed to organize a local, the Union shall issue individual dues books affiliating those eligible to membership in the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), Individual workers eligible to membership in the Union can affiliate directly with the Union if the character of their work is such that it prevents them from being a member of a local in any locality. The initiation fee for such individual affiliation shall be two dollars (\$2.00) and the monthly dues one

dollar and fifty cents (\$1.50), which shall be paid directly to the Union and transferred in full to the General Fund. Any member directly affiliated with the Union when securing employment in a locality where a local union exists shall transfer his membership to such local union.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption of the entire article.

DELEGATE MARY CALLAHAN, Local 105: My question previously put to the Chairman of the Constitution Committee had to do with transfers of CIO members from a sister Union, and I was told it was answered under this Article. I would have taken an Amalgamated Clothing Worker to be a sister affiliate to IUE.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: When I spoke to the President of the Local Union afterwards it was pointed out where it came to initiation fees that permission could be secured from the Executive Board to waive initiation fees, and if you waive an initiation fee because you want to ask a transfer from a CIO Union in lieu of that, that kind of request is made to the Executive Board. The Sister knows in the Local she comes from that was in the District I represented, that we had that arrangement with many CIO Unions not affiliated with the electrical industry, and where they recognized our transfer cards as initiation fees we recognized theirs. There is nothing in this Constitution to forbid the same kind of arrangement to continue as long as the permission is secured.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I believe it would be desirable that we leave to the Local Unions the right to operate their own Local constitutions making permissible the transfer of members of other CIO Unions to the Local without the requirement of initiation fee. And the question will be referred to the Committee for its consideration.

DELEGATE BERRY, Local 105: Mr. Chairman, I want to take exception to the manner in which the Sister from my local was answered by the Chairman of this Committee.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Did you listen to me when I said the matter would be referred to the Committee to take into consideration the suggestion the Sister made so they can report to this Convention a proper provision covering the subject matter?

DELEGATE BERRY: I listened to you.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Is that procedure satisfactory to the delegate who raised the question?

DELEGATE BERRY: It is suitable so long as the Chairman of the Constitution Committee sticks to the facts.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chairman of the Convention made the mistake not the Chairman of the Committee. I made the mistake.

DELEGATE BERRY: Referring to the remark as to the discussion that took place between myself and the Chairman of the Constitution Committee—

CHAIRMAN CAREY (Interposing): It has no place before this Convention. The Chair recognizes the Committee.

The motion is to adopt the recommendation of the Committee.

DELEGATE WISE, Local 768: Under withdrawal and transfer there is no provision here, and I haven't seen any in the constitution, requiring an amalgamated Local—suppose some shop wanted to withdraw and form their own Local—under this withdrawal and transfer there is no provision in here

in the case of an amalgamated Local where some shops in that amalgamated would like to withdraw and form their own Local. Will it be covered in this constitution in other places?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: That was covered in another place in the constitution already adopted. I think it covers it adequately. Certainly there will be no charge for a transfer of an amalgamated Local to another Local, or within the shops of an amalgamated Local.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: Under Article XII, Section B, your question is answered. We added a sentence reading as follows: "Due consideration shall be given to the employees from any shop in their desire for affiliation." That is not on your sheet. I read it off and said that covered affiliation both in and out of amalgamated Unions, and we adopted it this morning.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: On the question. The question is on the motion to adopt the recommendation of the Committee as to Article XIX. All those in favor please say aye; those opposed no.

The recommendation of the Committee is carried unanimously and it is so ordered.

ARTICLE XX

By-Laws

Section A. LOCAL AUTONOMY.

The affiliated local unions shall adopt their own constitutions and by-laws and amendments or modifications thereto. A copy of the local constitution shall be distributed by the local to all of its new members. Such constitutions, by-laws, amendments and modifications shall become effective upon adoption by the local if they do not conflict with this Constitution, but shall be subject to disapproval by the Executive Board. All locals shall send copies of their constitution and by-laws and any amendments and modifications thereof to the Union within thirty (30) days after adoption for review by the Executive Board. If any local constitution or any provision thereof, is disapproved by the Executive Board, it shall thereupon become ineffective. Local Unions shall be governed by this Constitution during such times as they may not have in effect a local constitution and by-laws.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The recommendation of the Committee is before the house. The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Constitution.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: Heretofore many have had in their minds that when a Local Union adopted a constitution and sent it to the National Organization it was not operative until it was approved. The reverse procedure is being recommended here. The Local Union adopts a constitution, it goes into effect; when something in there is disapproved it is ineffective at the date of disapproval; and therefore no Local Union constitutions can be hung up two, three, or six months because some Executive Board hasn't got around to approving it.

... The committee's recommendation was carried, and it was so ordered.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: We now approach the time of recess. The Chairman is going to ask the Committee on Constitution to meet with the Administrative Committee at 6 o'clock tonight in Parlor C-9 in this hotel.

RECOGNITION OF LOCAL 206

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I wish to announce at the suggestion of Ralph Chicketti, new Business Agent and Vice President of Local Union 206, with 1,500 members IUE-CIO, that the American Bosch Company, Incorporated, Springfield, Massachusetts, has posted notices on the bulletin board that the company is recognizing Local 206, IUE-CIO, until such time as National Labor Relations Board elections are held.

The Chair is going to ask the President of Local Union 445, James Callaghan, to make a special announcement to this Convention.

STRIKE SITUATION, LOCAL UNION 445

DELEGATE CALLAGHAN: Mr. Chairman and Brothers and Sisters, we have a Local of 750 people who have been out on strike since September 30th. On that date as our people were leaving the shop they were handed a two-page leaflet by foremen and members of management. That was an offer of work on October 2nd under conditions outlined in the leaflet. The conditions in the leaflet amounted to approximately a 25 percent decrease in wages. At that time we were faced with a fight that you were all faced with the IUE and the UE. We are also faced in our Local with an injunction by the UE. I don't want to go into detail on that, I believe you have all gone through it.

At that time we could have had benefits. We rejected the benefits because there were strings tied to those benefits of infiltration. We decided to take action to go along with the IUE regardless of what happened to us.

On the day the IUE was formed in Cleveland—at 10 o'clock in the morning, we were a little premature, we had already passed by a unanimous decision of our membership to go IUE. Since then we have received letters from our former District right to our members telling them our leadership was no good and we would lose out because of the attitude we had taken and we would get no help. That came true; we got no help. Since then we have been applying for help to right-wingers—and I refer to you people here. We haven't asked for help on a national basis because we haven't been able to get the necessary contacts or addresses, we haven't been able to get around, we haven't much money, we are just about surviving.

Now our Local, I don't know whether you remember us or not, but at convention after convention since 1946 the UE has been making much of one of our members. We feel proud of him. Phelps Dodge workers know him. Many of us went down there when they were on strike. Mario Russo from our Local went down there and was killed.

I have heard comments about people getting paid who worked in my own district for this new IUE. We have been ridiculed by the Lefts who have been handing out leaflets. We have been doing a job and we can't do it much longer unless we have help from you people. We have arrangements in the back of the hall for a couple of members to take pledges from you people. We have no way of getting to you after this Convention. We only ask you do all in your power to help us. I think this fight is more than a fight of a Local against a company, because the old UE have injected themselves into it. They even have called up our company and say they have an interest. I wonder what kind of an interest. They never came across with any dough or anything else, nothing but leaflets on the picket line.

We are asking you people for help. I hope you comply with our request.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: You have heard the recommendation made by the President of the Local Union. What is your pleasure?

A DELEGATE Local 101: It is too late today to do the job, but I move that tomorrow this Convention take up a collection and give financial assistance to start the ball rolling, and give them the help they need.

These same fellows came up to Local 101 for some assistance, which they will get when we have our meeting, and also assistance in regard to an organizational drive.

I move that tomorrow morning we take up a collection to assist the members of this Local Union.

The motion was seconded and carried.

RECEPTION COMMITTEE

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The following Reception Committee will meet in Room C-8 of this hotel at 9:15 a. m. tomorrow to escort Reverend E. Luther Cunningham to this platform, where he will deliver the Invocation:

E. J. Kraft, Local 755, Chairman; Earl Howell, Local 104; Edward Brunelle, Local 278; Michael Capp, Local 440; Harry Wise, Local 768; and Alan Palmer, Local 1114.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I would like to call to your attention if we meet promptly tomorrow morning at 9:30 we may be able to arrange to get away early tomorrow afternoon. I would hope we can finish our Convention by working through the noon hour, in order to provide an opportunity in the afternoon for some important meetings to take place of the various Conference Boards.

I am suggesting that you make your transportation arrangements to return home late tomorrow afternoon.

I want to thank you for the cooperation you have given me at this session of the Convention, and I will see you all tomorrow morning promptly at 9:30.

(Whereupon at 5:40 o'clock p. m. the Convention stood recessed, to reconvene tomorrow morning, Thursday, December 1, 1949, at 9:30 o'clock a. m.)

FOURTH DAY—THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
December 1, 1949

The Convention was called to order at 10:30 o'clock a. m. by Chairman Carey.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: At this time I should like to present for the Invocation a man who has been active in several important fields. His love of humanity brought him not only close to the labor movement, but made him a part of the labor movement.

Luther Cunningham has been a long-time personal friend of mine. He has contributed directly to the well-being of all of the people of this country. He is very active in organizations like the National Association for the

Advancement of Colored People. He is very effective in presenting constructive views to the Americans for Democratic Action. He has been identified with the Fellowship Commission that works in behalf of the democratic principles that we proclaim.

It is with great pleasure that I present to this Convention the Reverend Luther Cunningham, Pastor of St. Paul's Baptist Church in Philadelphia.

INVOCATION

REVEREND LUTHER CUNNINGHAM

Pastor of St. Paul's Church

Let us bow our heads in prayer. Eternal God, Our Father, great Worker of the universe, source of all strength, author of all unity, we lay before Thee in prayer this morning our concern for this Convention and the objective it represents. We pray that Thou wouldst give to its leaders strength for their responsibilities, and light and vision for their duties, deep courage for their problems.

Grant to its delegates and friends earnest enthusiasm and sincere purpose. May they together be used mightily by Thee for the destruction of any concept that would hinder and defeat our democratic purpose.

And hasten the day O Lord, when by the glad will of all, men of every race and creed shall stand side by side in the strong and righteous brotherhood of labor and all class conflict and industrial strife shall end, and our America at long last attain her definite destiny—one Nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

In the Master's name we pray—Amen.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Resolutions Committee for a further report, Chairman Fred Kelley.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Committee Chairman Fred Kelley submitted the following report:

Resolution No. 5

POLITICAL ACTION AND OUR LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

The International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), as an aggressive American trade union movement, demands that the American people be given the Fair Deal program for which they voted in overwhelming numbers in 1948. We feel that the recent elections in New York, Pennsylvania and other states indicate that the people, of which we are an integral part, who voted for the Fair Deal in 1948 are for it in 1949 and will insist that it be achieved no later than 1950.

The Fair Deal as it carries out the policies recommended by the CIO, is OUR program. We noted with scorn the pro-Communist, Wallacite activities of the officers of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America who did not have the guts to submit their Progressive party line in 1948 to a test by the membership. We further note that in spite of the opposition of the rank and file to the Progressive party program and candidates, that the officers of the now defunct UE employ all of the physical and financial resources of that organization in support of the pro-Communist, Wallacite Progressive party.

The real progressive pledge the IUE-CIO will be in there fighting with

its might and main in the hope of achieving the following liberal program which was adopted by the CIO at its Eleventh Annual Convention early this month.

- (1) We feel that the Congress should deem it to be an unfair labor practice for either side to withhold information on payroll or profit data.
- (2) Strengthening and improvement of our social security program, including extended coverage, substantial increases in benefits, addition of permanent and temporary disability insurance, and an improved public assistance program.
- (3) A progressive tax program which shifts the burden of taxes from those least able to those best able to pay.
- (4) Enactment into law of the recommendations of the President's Committee on Civil Rights. Specifically, we call for:
 - (a) Passage of a Fair Employment Practices Bill;
 - (b) Passage of legislation outlawing poll taxes and other undemocratic restrictions on the right to vote;
 - (c) Enactment of a federal anti-lynching bill;
 - (d) Passage of measures to bar segregation in interstate travel;
 - (e) Enactment of safeguards against racial discrimination in federal appropriations for state aid;
 - (f) Abolition of the Wood Committee;
 - (g) Enactment of laws protecting aliens long resident in the United States and regularizing their status; in addition we oppose all bills and Executive Orders to limit constitutional rights of American citizens and curtail the right of organization and association;
 - (h) The setting up in IUE-CIO of a Civil Rights Committee or Department on Fair Practices. Such body shall see to it that locals adopt similar bodies. It shall be, also, IUE-CIO policy that non-discrimination clauses, particularly in relation to hiring, be included in all our contract bargaining agreements.
- (5) Extension of rent control for the period of the housing shortage.
- (6) Passage of an adequate housing program for families of moderate income, with provisions for loans to housing cooperatives.
- (7) Enactment of legislation to protect tenants in war housing from real estate speculators.
- (8) Improvement of the Fair Labor Standards Act to provide a minimum wage of at least \$1.00 per hour, and to extend coverage to all workers whose employment is within the jurisdiction of federal legislation. We believe that at least an additional 7 million workers could and should be brought under the protection of the Fair Labor Standards Act.
- (9) Development of an economic program which will promote and maintain a full employment, full production, and full purchasing power economy.
- (10) Improvement of unemployment compensation and the public employment service through more adequate benefit provisions and extended coverage in a nationalized system.
- (11) A national unified health insurance program.

- (12) Federal aid to education, properly financed, and an effective labor education extension service program.
- (13) Strengthening of the U. S. Department of Labor and the return to it of all its legitimate functions.
- (14) Establishment of a Cabinet Status Department of Welfare to co-ordinate the health, welfare and social service functions of the government.
- (15) Veterans' benefits adjusted to meet present high costs, and the enactment of an adequate veterans' readjustment allowance program.
- (16) A comprehensive forestry program including direct federal regulation of timber cutting on all timberlands.
- (17) Support for the integrated regional development of rivers and natural resources, utilizing the experience gained in TVA.
- (18) A farm program geared to a full economy including reasonable price and income support, farm credits, soil conservation, and improvement of rural living standards.
- (19) Adoption of the International Trade Organization's Charter which extends the principle of reciprocal trade.
- (20) Adequate appropriations for the Economic Cooperation Administration.
- (21) Retention under full federal control of "tidelands" oil resources.
- (22) Defeat of proposals to protect monopolistic basing-point practices from action by Federal Trade Commission.
- (23) Approval of St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project.
- (24) Enactment of legislation with appropriate safeguards to implement President Truman's "Point Four" proposal for assistance in the development of human and technical resources of undeveloped countries.
- (25) Provisions for the development and maintenance of a U. S. merchant marine of size and status commensurate with this country's role of leadership in world affairs.

This we solemnly resolve to accomplish by full participation of the IUE-CIO in the political action program of the CIO.

CHAIRMAN KELLEY: The Resolutions Committee moves for the adoption of the Resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN KELLEY: The following resolution, Mr. Chairman, is one dealing with skilled trades in our industry, and with the permission of the Committee I would like to suggest that we change the first "Whereas" so as to read as follows:

Resolution No. 6

RESOLUTION OF SKILLED TRADES COUNCIL

WHEREAS, under the present contracts in our industry the Communist-dominated defunct UE showed utter disregard for the men employed in the skilled trades; and

WHEREAS, our contracts do not provide for compulsory arbitration of unsettled grievances, thereby leaving no recourse except that of ineffective wild-cat strikes and work stoppages by minority groups;

WHEREAS, some of our contracts do not provide for a jointly sponsored union and company labor program for the training of apprentices to the skilled trades;

WHEREAS, wage rates for the skilled tradesmen throughout our industry are for the most part below standard and must be brought into line.

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED, That provisions be made to correct these conditions.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That a skilled trades council be established within the existing framework of the IUERMW-CIO, to draw up these and other necessary provisions concerning skilled tradesmen in any future negotiations and to assist the men of the bargaining committees in representing the skilled tradesmen in our industry.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN KELLEY: Mr. Chairman, the Committee moves adoption of the resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried unanimously.

MESSAGES OF GREETING

CHAIRMAN CAREY: We have selected a few of the messages received by this Convention from officers of our Federal, State, and city governments, and some other labor organizations and friends of ours outside the movement and outside of public life.

The Secretary of Labor made reference to a meeting now going on in the city of London, England, part of an effort to build a free world labor movement and to assist in increasing the standards of people in other countries and safeguarding the standards that we enjoy here in the United States. There are delegates in that conference representing all the labor organizations of the world outside of the Iron Curtain, and they have sent a cable to us. It is short, it is concise, and it reads as follows:

"All delegates here extend best wishes for a successful meeting and victory for democratic unionism."

It is signed by the delegates to the meeting in London.

We have also received from London a cable that simply states: "Greetings and best wishes for harmony and success." Signed—Allan and Dave. That is Allan Haywood and Dave McDonald.

George Baldanzi sends a wire from Atlanta, Georgia: "Warmest fraternal greetings to your historic convention which will establish a militant and progressive trade union for all workers in your industry; freed of all unnecessary and unwanted encumbrance, you can go forward for the benefit of not only your own members but the entire free labor movement."

We have also received greetings from the Barber and Beauty Culturists of America, from the Camden Newspaper Guild, and from the Hamilton members of the IUE-CIO.

The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS—(Continued)

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN KELLEY: Mr. Chairman, as far as I know all resolutions have now been acted upon, but the Committee will willingly accept any resolutions that may have been omitted, and we will be glad to have meetings again in the room up here for anyone who wants to present resolutions, in addition to those already adopted.

The Committee was presented with a telegram by Delegate Saylor, Local 801, Dayton, Ohio, and the Committee voted to have it read into the record. I would like to add also that this was accepted a couple of days

ago, and at that time the figures mentioned were correct. At this time they are incorrect, owing to the lapse of a couple of days. It is headed, "Apologies to Abraham Lincoln."

APOLOGIES TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN

One score and seven days ago, the CIO brought forth into this country a new union, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. We are met in a great organizational convention of that union, testing whether that union or any other union so conceived and so dedicated can grow and endure.

It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this for the brave men, the living, the dead who built Democratic trade unions in America and have dedicated it far above our poor power to add or detract.

The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it will never forget what we do here.

It is for us, the IUE delegates, an honor to be selected to do this great task which they who have consistently fought communism in the labor movement have thus so far nobly advanced. It is for us, the IUE members, an honor to be dedicated to this great task now lying before us and that from the honored President "Phil Murray" we take increased devotion for that great cause for which he has pledged his last full measure of devotion and support.

We hereby highly resolve that the electrical workers under CIO leadership shall have a new birth of freedom, and that this union of the people, for the people, and by the people shall not perish from the earth.

(Submitted by Delegate Saylor of Local 801, Dayton, Ohio.)

CHAIRMAN CAREY: If there is no objection, the document just read will be incorporated in the proceedings of the Convention.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN KELLEY: Mr. Chairman, that completes the report of the Resolutions Committee, and it is signed by the Committee.

FRED KELLEY

WILLIAM DROHAN, Secretary

GEORGE SIMPSON

BERTRAND HOFFMAN

WILLIAM ROCHE

LEO BENOIT

KATHLEEN HERRING

JOSEPH STAFFIERI

GEORGE COLLINS

JAMES CALLAGHAN

LeROY MIFFLIN

EUGENE RATH

JOHN REINHOLD

WILLIAM J. PARKER

JAMES SAYERS

E. J. KRAFT

FRANK LENHARDT

JOHN BARCLAY

HERMAN MARSISCHKE

TONY CHOC

LEE PARKS

Resolutions Committee

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The motion before the Convention is to give a rising vote of thanks to the Resolutions Committee and to dismiss the Committee. All those in favor will please rise.

The Committee is dismissed with the thanks and appreciation of the Convention, by a unanimous vote of the delegates assembled.

INSTALLATION OF CHARTERS

CHAIRMAN CAREY: There is one work connected with this organization that I think I would interrupt any program in order to carry out, and that is the installation of charters of Local Unions. We have with us today

representatives from five Local Unions that desire to become part of our official family in a formal manner.

I would like to ask the representatives of the following Local Unions to please rise: Local Union 132, Lancaster, Pennsylvania; Local Union 721, Cleveland, Ohio; Local Union 1199, Chicago, Illinois; Local Union 901, Fort Wayne, Indiana; and Local Union 610, Wilmerding and Swissvale, Pennsylvania.

Are the delegates present at this session? Dallas Smith, please come forward. In presenting this charter to Dallas Smith, the President of Local 901, I am presenting a charter to the President of an organization who has served in that capacity for some time. Local Union 901 was organized some time prior to the organization of the UE, an organization that established itself and gained the respect of the people in the community of Fort Wayne, as well as that of the management of the General Electric Corporation, in the plants over which this Local assumes jurisdiction. It cannot by any means be considered a new union. It is an old Local, in the vanguard of our fight, that has contributed a great deal to the development of labor organization and collective bargaining throughout our entire industry. This charter of affiliation reads as follows:

"Know ye, That the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), being a part of the great trade union family of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, by action of the Eleventh Constitutional Convention at Cleveland, Ohio, on November 3, 1949, and of the CIO Executive Board on the same date, hereby issues this Charter to Local 901 of Fort Wayne, Indiana."

I take pleasure in signing this charter and presenting it to the President of Local 901, Dallas Smith.

I think our organization should know something more of the record of the present officers of Local 132 of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and the difficulties that confronted them in changing their affiliation from the old, defunct and dead UE to the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO). I am asking Ben Hasselbach, the President of Local 132, to convey to the members of Lancaster Local Union the appreciation of this Convention for the splendid job the officers and members are carrying out in helping to build this International Union.

I ask Robert Klingensmith, who is Business Agent of Local Union No. 610, to accept in behalf of this Convention the charter of affiliation with the IUE-CIO. This man is a member of the Constitution Committee, and I hope the people back home appreciate the sound advice he has given our Committee from time to time in meeting the problems of this Convention. I hope some day to meet with the officers and members of Local 610, because I am conscious of the problems that they have confronting them, and I know the assistance that the rest of labor can be in having them complete the work that they so ably have started.

I am going to ask a member of the Administrative Committee, E. J. Kraft, to arrange for the installation of the charter of Local 721, personally, or by designating a representative of the International Union for that purpose.

I am going to ask Al Fineman, District Director, to present this charter of affiliation to the members of Local Union 1199. When Al Fineman finds the time I hope he will present to them the greetings of our Convention and

give them the encouragement they perhaps need in organizing the shops under the jurisdiction of this Local Union.

The Chair now recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Constitution Harry Block.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION—(Continued)

Committee Chairman Block continued the report of the Committee, as follows:

ARTICLE XVII

Suspension or Revocation of Local Union Charters

Section A.

The Committee gave further consideration to this section and now recommends the insertion of the words "not less than three" before the words "members of the Executive Board." The section will then read:

Section A. In the event the President shall have reason to believe that any Local Union is failing to comply with any provisions of the Constitution, he may institute proceedings upon the alleged violations, with due notice of hearing before not less than three members of the Executive Board. Upon the basis of the hearing the Executive Board is authorized to render a decision, dismissing the charges of alleged violations, suspending or revoking the charter of any such Local Union, or directing such other action as may be necessary to secure compliance with the Constitution. The decision of the Executive Board may be appealed to the next Convention; provided, however, that pending the appeal the decision of the Executive Board shall remain in full force and effect.

The Committee recommends adoption of the section as amended.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XX

By-Laws

Section B. AUDIT OF BOOKS OF LOCALS.

The books and records of each local union shall be audited at least every three (3) months. The President and Secretary of the local union shall send an official notice to the Secretary-Treasurer informing him that the local's books and records have been audited. This notice shall state what the condition of the books and records is. Such official notification shall be witnessed by the local trustees. The Secretary-Treasurer shall submit report of such notice at each regular meeting of the Executive Board. If a local fails to comply with the provisions of this Section relating to audits, the Secretary-Treasurer shall be empowered to have such an audit made. The cost of such audit shall be borne by the local. The Executive Board shall have the authority to take such actions as may be deemed necessary to enforce the provisions of this Section.

Section B was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XX, SECTION C

Section C. LOCAL OFFICERS.

The following officers shall be elected by the local membership: Presi-

dent, Vice President, Financial Secretary, Treasurer, Recording Secretary, Trustees and Floor Guard. Locals may add other officers or combine two offices in one.

The section as amended was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XX, SECTION D

Section D. BONDING OF OFFICERS.

The Treasurer and other officers officially handling union funds shall give adequate bond covering no less than the amount entrusted to their care. The minimum bond shall be \$500. All fees for such bonds shall be paid by the local union. If a local fails to comply with the provisions of this Section relating to bonds, the Secretary-Treasurer shall be empowered to secure an appropriate bond for the treasurer and other officers officially handling union funds of the local. The fees for such bond shall be paid by the local. The Executive Board shall have the authority to take such action as may be deemed necessary to enforce the provisions of this Section.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption of this section.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's report.

DELEGATE STASS, Local 405: I believe that this part of the bonding provision which reads, "All fees for such bonds shall be paid by the local union," is in direct contradiction with Article 12 which reads that when we pay the \$32.50 we will be bonded by the International Union. I would like a clarification of which is which.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Article the Brother refers to is the article which provides for the chartering of new locals and therefore the bond will come along with the new charter. This is after the local is established and must go along on its own, from that point on. The local could not bond an officer of a new organization because they don't have the finances or the means to go through with it, so immediately upon the institution of the new charter the bond would go along on \$500. At the end of that bonding period the local is supposed to pick it up then or they can increase the amount of that bond within that same year.

DELEGATE RATH, Local 601: In the first sentence of this section we find the language, "covering no less than the amount entrusted to their care." Maybe I am not clear on this, but in a large union like Lynn or like our Local 601, we have three officers bonded, so we would have \$100,000 entrusted to our care, and as we are changing the funds from the old UE to the new one, a lot of times the officers are entrusted with a lot of money. We are bonded for \$10,000. Does this mean, then, that we would have to be bonded for \$50,000 or \$100,000?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: This simply provides a minimum of \$500. The local has the right to bond its officers to meet the needs of the situation, but this provides a minimum bond of \$500 for the financial officer of the local union. It provides adequate opportunity for the local to increase the amount of bond above the \$500, if the treasury was of such a nature that that would give additional safeguards and protection. The cost, of course, would be paid for by the local union.

The motion to adopt the Committee's recommendation on Section D of Article XX was unanimously carried.

ARTICLE XX, SECTION E

Section E. CONTRACTS.

Within ten (10) days after the signing of any collective bargaining agreement, or any amendment, or modification of, or addition to any collective bargaining agreement, the local involved shall send three (3) copies of such agreement, or any amendment or modification of or addition to such agreement to the office of the Union.

Section E was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXI

Conventions

COMMITTEE SECRETARY BLOCK: We want the delegates to know that as far as the First Constitutional Convention is concerned the Committee has a report to make. This deals with conventions in full—I mean not just the next one, but from then on out. There will be a report as far as the next Convention is concerned.

Section A. TIME OF CONVENTION.

A convention of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) shall be held annually in the month of September.

Section A was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXI, SECTION B

Section B. CONVENTION CALL.

On June 1st, the Secretary-Treasurer shall send out the Convention Call and blank credentials to the Recording Secretaries of all affiliated locals. All credentials and the names of the delegates and alternates shall be returned to the Secretary-Treasurer not later than August 15th midnight.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption of this section.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's recommendation.

DELEGATE DECHANT, Local 119: Our local has in its constitution that all delegates are elected one month prior to the Convention, and that won't give us too much time. Would we have to change our constitution to make it two months?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Committee Chairman has indicated that during this formative period in the this organization, even though our constitution as recommended here calls for a Convention in September, the very first Convention may be held at an earlier time than that.

As to the local union adopting practices that would make it possible for them to elect their delegates prior to the Convention, we will have to deal with that as a local union in conformity with the provisions and recommendations that are being adopted here.

The motion to adopt the Committee's recommendation was carried.

ARTICLE XXI, SECTION C

Section C. BASIS OF REPRESENTATION.

The basis of representation at the Convention shall be one (1) vote up to one hundred (100) for every hundred members or major fraction thereof. The number of members shall be determined by the average paid per capita for the twelve (12) months preceding the last August 1. The membership of

a local which has been affiliated with the Union for less than one (1) year shall be computed, for this purpose, by dividing the total per capita paid by twelve (12).

Section C was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXI, SECTION D

COMMITTEE SECRETARY BLOCK: The Committee has amended this section as it is contained in the draft, and the section as amended will read as follows:

Section D. NUMBER OF DELEGATES.

Locals of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) will be entitled to delegates to the Convention on the following basis: Locals having five hundred (500) members or less—three (3) delegates; one (1) additional delegate for each additional five hundred (500) members or greater fraction thereof. No local shall have more than ten (10) delegates, irrespective of the number of members. The President, the Vice President or the Secretary-Treasurer shall be delegates ex officio, with one vote each. If the President, Vice President, or Secretary-Treasurer comes as a delegate from a local union he shall not be an ex officio delegate also.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXI, SECTION E

Section E. DIVISION OF VOTES.

Delegates attending Convention shall have full voting strength of their local by a division of vote per delegate per local.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption of this section.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's report.

DELEGATE FRED KELLEY, Local 201: I am a little bit sorry this comes in at this late date. I didn't know this was in here, or I would have appeared personally before the Constitution Committee. There is no sense of my criticizing anything unless I have a suggestion to make, and I will make a suggestion. This is the clause in the old UE constitution that Fitzgerald construed as giving him the right to violate the wishes of his membership. When Local 201 voted 7,178 to 3,078, when the delegates from Local 201 voted for Frederick Kelley as President of the International Union, Fitzgerald got up on the platform, as you people who were there know, and he said that constitutionally he had the right under this clause to divide the vote of Local 201.

I say this, that I for one am not going to swap any dictatorship of the left for a dictatorship of the right. I don't want whoever is the next International President of this Union to have the right to say from the platform or from any place else that because this clause is in the constitution he can violate the instructions of his own people. Fitzgerald got up and told you people in Cleveland that you have no right to tell them what to do. I make this specific suggestion to the Constitution Committee, that something be put in this clause that when a local membership instructs its delegates how to vote, those delegates to the Convention are duty-bound to be guided by the instructions of their membership. And I think, Mr. Chairman, it would be a simple matter to write such a clause into this constitution.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: Mr. Chairman, the Committee did consider the problem raised by Brother Kelley very seriously, and unless the Chairman of the Convention or the Secretary of the Convention has the full proceedings of a local union before it as to how delegates are instructed to vote on each and every issue, it is impossible for a Convention to take part in the affairs of the local union. I know the problem is a serious one, and although Brother Fitzgerald—I will say he was a brother then, or a part of the same organization—Brother Fitzgerald and Brother Kelley both came from the same local union and they had a very clear-cut case.

We also knew that the local delegates from Local 617 in Sharon just disregarded the instructions of their membership. The only way we knew it, we read it in the newspapers or by somebody sending in a telegram.

If the Convention is going to be the judge of how a local instructs its delegates, we might as well set up a complete filing system here, so that on every issue arising before the Convention we will have a situation where the Secretary of the Convention will go through that filing system.

In the matter of election of officers and constitutional amendment the Committee is going to recommend to this Convention that we do not elect officers at the Convention, that officers be nominated at the Convention and the election take place by popular vote back home.

We know that this Convention is laboring, as well as the members of the Committee are laboring, under a Constitution as they knew it in the days of the old UE. They are laboring under the interpretations of that Constitution. They are laboring under the thought of how those officers were elected. We intend to provide the proper safeguards, so that no group of delegates can disregard the instructions of their local unions on a matter of election of officers or on a matter of constitutional amendments that are binding upon a local union, that these matters will be ratified after the delegates are back home, the officers to be elected by popular vote.

The Committee took all that into consideration, and knowing all the problems has recommended unanimously the adoption of this section.

DELEGATE DECHANT, Local 119: I agree heartily with Brother Block on the popular vote, but, Mr. Chairman, there are other issues vitally important to our membership that somebody, some way or somehow may get in there and be a delegate and misuse his powers. I agree with Brother Kelley that there should be something in that section regarding instructions of delegates and how the membership want their delegates to vote on other issues besides the election of officers.

I suggest that the local unions should instruct their delegates to the National Convention a certain length of time before the Convention, tell them what they want them to do and how they want them to vote on certain issues, such as foreign policy and the dictates of the Communists coming in, or allowing the Communists to become members of the Union. I think the membership should be protected in the constitution. I suggest that there be a time limit when the local union can forward to the National Office the intent of the vote of that membership by the delegates.

DELEGATE FRED KELLEY: Mr. Chairman, the Chairman of the Constitution Committee has misunderstood my intent completely. I do not intend to prolong this Convention so that we can't get out of here today, but I will stay here until next year if that thing remains in this Constitution. I am not talking about the election of officers, I am talking about the fact that

when delegates to a Convention are instructed by their membership to support, we will say, CIO policy, I expect those delegates by our constitution to support CIO policy. If the delegates from Local 301 and Local 201 or whatever local it may be are instructed by their membership to support the Marshall Plan, I do not expect to see an Albert Fitzgerald or a Frederick Kelley get on the platform and say he is going against the wishes of his membership.

I think it is an important issue. No filing cabinets need be set up if we can make a constitutional provision that delegates are duty-bound to carry out the instructions of their membership. I do not ask Harry Block or an ex-President of this Union to decide how they are instructed. All I said was a completely clear declaration in our constitution that members of this Union are going to abide by the instructions of the membership. I think it is a simple thing, Mr. Chairman, and this clause ought to be referred back to the Constitution Committee and let them come out with such a provision in our constitution.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: There is a question before the Convention now as to whether or not a Credentials Committee of the Convention shall look behind the credentials from a local union and review the instructions a local union has given to a delegate. It would seem to me that if a Convention had the right to go beyond whether or not a delegate is accredited as a delegate by the local union, his credentials reviewed by the Credentials Committee and approved by a Convention in accepting the credentials, would we be engaged in interfering with the disciplinary measures of a local union? Should we do that? We come to a Convention as accredited delegates from a local union, filling out the prescribed forms, and we are seated as delegates.

If you write into the constitution any provision whatsoever and then send to a Convention someone as a delegate who ignores the constitution, that represents the wishes of the membership, what do you then do? Can the Convention assume the prerogatives that remain entirely with the local union, to send whoever they care to, properly credentialed, from a local union?

The mistake in this instance referred to by Fred Kelley was not in the constitution of the UE, not in the procedure of a local union in properly instructing their delegates. It was in sending Fitzgerald to the Convention. Fitzgerald indicated that he did not particularly care what the membership wanted or what the constitution provided, and they made the mistake of sending Fitzgerald. The constitution should not require that Fitzgerald be elected a delegate from the local union or be automatically designated by the local union, as he was under the local constitution.

No, I say to you quite frankly that we would be subject to a charge of dictatorship and undemocratic procedure if this Convention decided to write into its constitution a manner or method in which locals shall send their delegates to a convention and the kind of instructions that can be reviewed by a convention. Just don't send Fitzgerald to conventions. He doesn't take the instructions of the membership, he takes his instructions from elsewhere. I think the local union did the right thing when they recognized that Fitzgerald was not responding to the views of the membership. They got rid of Fitzgerald in that local union, and that's the only way to do it. I might say that perhaps they should have gotten rid of Fitzgerald before the Convention took place, because Fitzgerald had given more than just that one example of his willingness to subject himself to dictation from some other source.

I frankly state to you that this recommendation of the Committee is about as far as you can go without interfering and imposing the views of the Convention on a local union. The interpretation of the policies of the membership should be made by the local officers and members of the local union, and not by a convention. Certainly we can be more careful in the selection of our representatives than we have been in the past, and through provisions set forth in the Constitution we deny to locals the right to send representatives who are Communists, Fascists, Nazis, or who represent other totalitarian points of view and advocate ideologies foreign to the workers. Members of the local unions should take care of the problems that we have faced in the past.

This Convention itself indicates that more than 50 percent of the delegates assembled in Cleveland at the UE Convention were violating the instructions and wishes of the memberships they professed to represent. That Convention was a farce when you speak of it representing the will or the wishes or the aspirations of the workers in our industry, and we took steps to take care of that situation. I think we have taken care of it adequately and expeditiously, and I would suggest that this provision be carried out in the same manner that the Committee has recommended to this Convention, and that we be ever vigilant in our local unions to see to it that people do not flaunt our constitution, do not flaunt the decisions of the membership in local unions. Those that do, we must admit, will not be guided by a few additional words in this constitution, if their notions run to despising the wishes of the people they should be serving.

The Chair recognizes Delegate Cushing.

DELEGATE CUSHING, Local 201: Mr. Chairman, it is true that if we write this into the constitution it will not prohibit someone from voting against the wishes of the membership, but the only way you are going to be able to get back at that fellow when you get back in the local union is because of a clause in the constitution demanding that the guy live up to the wishes of the membership. Put it in the constitution, and if he violates it here in the convention we can take care of it in the local union. And, incidentally, no local constitution can be in conflict with the International Constitution, so if it is in the International Constitution all locals will have to have the same provisions. If you are not afraid of it, put it in there and it will cover everybody.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: When a delegate comes to a Convention as a delegate from a local union he has agreed, as a member of that local union, to abide by the decisions reached by that local union, to carry out the instructions as a member of the local union, all points raised by the local union, etc. The local union in its own constitution has the power to reprimand or take action against the individual who does not follow the local union's instructions, as took place in Local 201.

The thing we are writing into the constitution at the present time provides as follows, that when a local sends a group of delegates the amount of votes of the local shall be divided among the delegates. It does not say that they shall follow instructions. It has nothing to do with the matter of instructions, and if anybody believes that some place in the constitution there should be some provision—and it would have to be in a spot other than this—that delegates are bound to follow the instructions of their local unions, then you will have to follow through with a series of penalties if they don't

and we can't achieve what we are talking about, because that becomes a local union proposition.

On the subject matter before the Convention there is only one way. If a local has ten delegates and they have a hundred votes, the votes be distributed evenly among the delegates, and if some delegate has fifty votes and the other nine have five and a fraction, if we can figure out how the Chairman of the Convention or an officer of a Convention can penalize a delegate without hurting a local union when that delegate violates instructions, we can write it into another section of the constitution. But a delegate is morally bound to his local union to carry out his instructions when he comes to the Convention. But on this particular subject we are only speaking about the distribution of votes.

DELEGATE SHAW, Local 320: I have to support Fred Kelley's stand. At the last Convention when Fitzgerald and the rest of those boys from Lynn saw fit to ignore the wishes of the membership of that local, we in Cleveland on the Right Wing raised the roof off the place. We charged them with doing an about-face when they claimed that the membership ran this Union. It is up to the International Constitution to protect each local's wishes, and I say to you right here and now we must have in this constitution, in this clause here a provision requiring delegates to the convention to abide by the wishes of their local.

I don't know what is in the delegate's mind. We don't know what petty politics they may be subject to around the bar rooms of the Convention. I have been to a couple of conventions and I know how it works. There are politics in the Left Wing, yes, but there are politics in the Right Wing, too.

By inserting this provision in here that we require the delegates to follow the wishes of their local, we would do away with a lot of politics, and that is one thing that is wrong with the labor movement—there are far too many politicians in the labor movement today, and this Convention here should stand in support of Fred Kelley's stand on this constitutional provision.

DELEGATE MORTON, Local 524: Mr. Chairman and delegates, it is very obvious to me, listening to this debate, that we are suffering from a hangover from our association with the UE. We who were associated with the UE knew that our organization was a machine to bring forward the propaganda of the Communist party and that there was no freedom of thought, and that the Communist members or delegates who came to these conventions had one job to do, and one job only—to be a sounding board for the policies of the Communist party.

We of the Right Wing who fought this subversive domination in our Union fought in our local unions to see that our delegates came here and supported the American and Canadian positions. That, I think, is what we are suffering from today.

We hold a convention once a year. This convention is called a parliament of labor. We come, or we should come to such a convention to build the policies of our Union. Now, if this is to be a parliament, which I really believe it is, then we should come here with open minds. If we come here with a closed mind, which you would if you were following instructions, then it is no parliament, because if you are going to vote the way you are told, why should I or anyone else step up to a microphone and try to sell the

delegates my ideas, because no matter how I talked or no matter how you talked you are still going to vote the way you have been told. So what can we accomplish? To my opinion we accomplish nothing. Therefore, you no longer have a parliament. I believe when you are instructed by your membership to fight for a certain position you should fight for that position, but I also believe that you should come here with a free mind, so that after you have fought for your position you can listen to the debates of the other delegates. If you feel that you are wrong you should have the right to vote against what you spoke in favor of. Then it is your job to go back to your membership and tell them why you voted against the wishes of the membership. If they find that you are wrong in what you did, then it is up to your locals to take action accordingly.

But I do feel that here we are setting the policies for our Union, and I don't believe that this is going to be a parliament if we have to come here with a closed mind and vote the way we are instructed, because personally I would just as soon save the money of my local and stay at home in Peterborough and let my local make the decision and send a letter in to Washington, telling them the way they want to vote, because I would be wasting my time, and so would you.

The business we are here to do is to lay down the policies of this Union for one year, and I say it is not necessary to have a convention if our locals are going to lay down for us through constitutions the way we shall vote. We can save a tremendous amount of money by staying at home and writing the decisions to our Washington officers, and they can assemble the votes on the various resolutions and we will not need a convention to consider these matters. A convention of this type is a parliament of labor and we must have free minds to change our decisions and go back to our membership and tell them why we took the stand we did.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The attention of the Chairman has been called to the report of the Constitution Committee, which reads as follows:

"Section E. DIVISION OF VOTES. Delegates attending conventions shall have full voting strength of their local by a division of vote per delegate per local."

That is the only subject matter now before the Convention. I think that provision is unquestionably clear. I think the recommendation of the Committee should be considered by the Convention, and the other questions not considered under this particular provision.

On the Committee's recommendation the motion is to adopt. All those in favor of the Committee's recommendation will please signify by saying aye. Those opposed, no.

The ayes appear to have it.

DELEGATE JOSEPH KELLEY, Local 113: A point of information. I want to know, regarding the discussion which has just transpired, will we have an opportunity of discussing that particular matter?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Not under this provision.

All those who are opposed to adopting the provision in our constitution which reads as follows: "Delegates attending convention shall have full voting strength of their local by a division of vote per delegate per local," will please rise.

The Chair is of the opinion that the recommendation of the Committee is carried by the overwhelming vote of the Convention and so declares.

DELEGATE JOSEPH KELLEY, Local 113: May I ask a point of information of the Chairman of the Constitution Committee? I understand, Mr. Chairman, there has been some discussion on this point in the Constitution Committee. I frankly don't feel that it has been fully aired in the manner in which the item was discussed. I would like to know from the Chairman of the Constitution Committee whether the delegates from the floor will be able to broaden their discussion of this matter—where a delegate or a delegation comes instructed to the Convention, will the officers of this organization, when they are instructed to vote the unit rule, accept their vote as a unit rule, or will the Chairman have it within his power to say, as Fitzgerald has said during previous conventions, "It is up to you yourselves, you take the consequences when you go back to your Local."

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair is of the opinion that Local constitutions should provide methods for dealing with a situation such as confronted Local 201, when Fitzgerald misrepresented the wishes of the membership. But that is a local constitution. Perhaps a provision that would read, "Any delegate or representative of this Local union who wilfully disregards the instructions given him by his Local Union shall be liable to suspension or expulsion after trial by the Local Union." The Local Union constitution could provide methods and means to show that their representatives adequately represent the wishes of the Local Union membership, but it would not be proper for the Committee to recommend a course of proceeding, as was well stated by the Chairman of the Committee, that the Convention itself would determine the wishes of the Local membership. That would require a system that would make a convention govern the actions of delegates from Local Unions. The Local Unions will have to adopt their constitutions, and the Local Unions will have to provide safeguards that the delegates from Local Unions properly and adequately represent the wishes of the membership and carry out their instructions.

Now the sole responsibility of the International Convention, it would seem to me, would be to make aware the record of the delegates to the membership in order that the membership can properly judge whether or not a representative carried out the instructions that the membership directed to their delegates. It would be impossible, quite frankly, for a convention of this nature to determine the instructions that each Local Union has given to each delegate. You can't convict a delegate of violating instructions until after the act has been committed, except to provide in your Local constitution that no political prostitute shall represent the Local. That determination must be made in advance by the Local Union, and not afterwards by the Convention. Quite frankly, it would be impossible under any provision of this International constitution to guarantee that a Local representative is going to carry out the instructions of the membership. I say to you that we are attempting to discuss something that it is impossible to deal with, unless you have in mind electing delegates to conventions that are free to carry out their own personal wishes or the wishes from some other authority than the membership. You can't do it by regulation at this Convention or any future Convention.

DELEGATE BERRY, Local 105: I would like to raise this question. Is there any provision now in the constitution, in your opinion, or is it possible to put some provision in the constitution whereby a Local Union whose delegate may break instructions and may vote opposite to the wishes of the

Local can have that vote reversed on the records of the Convention, and thereby possibly change the vote taken that might have been effected by the delegate breaking instructions?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: On important questions such as constitutional provisions, election of officers, and matters of that nature, the Committee provides methods through referendum vote of Locals and by popular vote of the election of officers. So there would be adequate opportunity for the membership to correct any mistakes, errors of judgment, or malicious acts on the part of the delegates to a convention on these matters.

DELEGATE KELLEY, Local 113: Is it proper to speak on instructions to delegates at this time?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: There is nothing before the Convention on that subject at this time but I would think that in view of the fact that a great number of us have had opportunity to express themselves on the subject, the delegate would be in order.

DELEGATE KELLEY: Think you, Mr. Chairman. There is one thing that has come up here in my mind. I understand the conversations taking place on both sides, but in view of what happened in the last convention I think we should be concerned about laws that would stop infractions, rather than placing punishment on people for infractions. In other words, we are compelling the Locals to take action against delegates who come to conventions and do not follow the wishes of the membership, but in my opinion we feel we could have our delegates, where they are instructed, have those instructions submitted with their credentials, so that the Union knows they are instructed on a certain item when they come to the Convention, and if they vote opposite to that they can be called on it. We have no doubt about many of the delegates coming to conventions, but in years to come we might have a landslide of delegates coming and voting opposite to what they are instructed, and you have a complete line of officers who are not elected according to the will of the people.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I would suggest that we do write something in our constitution that would enable the Union to have the records of delegates so instructed, so that they would be kept in line and thus forbid them from making a mistake in voting wrongly and against the wishes of the membership compelling them to do that, rather than submitting punishment for their infractions.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee.

Committee Chairman Block continued the report of the Committee, as follows:

ARTICLE XXI, SECTION F

Section F. SMALL LOCALS COMBINING.

Not more than three (3) locals within any given district, having together less than five hundred (500) members, if they desire in the interest of economy, may combine to send one (1) delegate, a member of one of the locals, to represent them at the Convention. Such delegate must be elected by a majority vote in each of the locals so combining, and voting power of such combined locals shall be based on their combined membership as if it were

one (1) local. There shall be no vote by proxy at the Convention of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO).

Section F was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXI, SECTION G

Section G. PAYMENT OF INDEBTEDNESS.

No local shall be entitled to representation at Convention unless all indebtedness up to June 30th has been paid. Locals must pay such obligations before July 31st.

Section G was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The next three paragraphs deal with the Convention committees, and if there is no objection we will combine them.

ARTICLE XXI, SECTIONS H, I, and J

Section H. CONVENTION COMMITTEES.

All committees shall be nominated and appointed by the Executive Board and ratified by Convention. The assembled Convention shall have the power to elect other members to any committee that they see fit. No more than one (1) member from any local shall serve on any one committee.

Section I. Each committee shall have the power to elect its own Chairman and Secretary.

Section J. NATURE AND NUMBER OF COMMITTEES.

The following committees shall be classified as standing committees: Credentials Committee, Constitution Committee, Publicity Committee, Educational Committee, Resolutions Committee, Committee on Officers' Reports, Political Action Committee, Rules and Order Committee, and any other committee so decided upon by Convention with the exception of the Committee on Arrangements.

Sections H, I, and J were unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXI, SECTION K

Section K. CONVENTION SERGEANT-AT-ARMS.

The Convention Sergeant-at-Arms shall be appointed at the Executive Board meeting from the geographical district in which the Convention is to be held.

Section K was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXI, SECTION L

Section L. LOCALS SUBMITTING RESOLUTIONS AND AMENDMENTS.

All proposed resolutions and amendments to the Constitution shall be sent by the local recording secretary to the Secretary-Treasurer to reach his office by August 15th, midnight. The Secretary-Treasurer shall compile same in the order in which they are received and shall indicate the locals from which each one was received. The Secretary-Treasurer shall distribute all resolutions, amendments to the Constitution, reports and all written data to the appropriate Convention committees. No amendments to the Constitution or resolutions shall be received from any delegate at the Convention except by order of the Convention.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption of this section.

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the Committee's recommendation.

DELEGATE GOFF, Local 113: I believe the Chairman of the Constitution Committee has omitted what was added to that paragraph, that all committee reports shall be given to the delegates before any action is taken.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: I discussed that with the Committee this morning before you came in. It would not come under this section. It could be a matter of the Rules of the Convention. If the Convention rules can be set up that way, all well and good, but if it is in the constitution it would mean that unless every report is written out and presented beforehand, the report would not be official. If we have that down on paper it can be presented as a part of the rules, but if it is placed in the constitution the Committee's report can be withheld.

The motion to adopt the Committee's recommendation was carried unanimously.

ARTICLE XXI, SECTION M

Section M. EXECUTIVE BOARD SUBMITTING RESOLUTIONS AND AMENDMENTS.

The Executive Board may submit resolutions and amendments to the Constitution in the same manner and date as that of the locals. Such resolutions and amendments shall be marked as submitted by the Executive Board.

Section M was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXI, SECTION N

Section N. APPROVAL OF AMENDMENTS BY CONVENTION.

Amendments to this Constitution shall be approved by the Convention if they receive the affirmative vote of two-thirds ($\frac{2}{3}$) of those voting. Amendments so approved shall not become effective unless they are thereafter also approved by the local unions as provided in Sections O, P, and Q, hereof. This Constitution may also be amended by referendum as provided in Article XXII hereof.

Section N was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXI, SECTION O

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The first of the section would start out as follows:

"Within ten (10) days after the close of the Convention the Secretary-Treasurer shall send the Convention-approved amendments to each Local Union.

Within forty-five (45) days after the Convention, each local shall call a regular or special meeting for the purpose of receiving the Convention report and of acting on all amendments to the Constitution adopted by the Convention. A majority of those present and voting shall determine the approval or rejection of such amendments to the Constitution. Committee Reports shall be prepared in sufficient copies for the delegates assembled."

The change here from what you have is that the Secretary of the organi-

zation must send out the amendments within ten days after the close of the Convention.

Section O of Article XXI, as amended, was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXI, SECTION P

Section P. The approved paragraphs shall be recorded in the minutes and a statement signed by the President and Secretary of the local shall be sent to the Trustees by registered mail within fifty (50) days after the Convention.

Section P was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXI, SECTION Q

Section Q. TO TABULATE VOTE.

The Trustees shall tabulate the vote of the locals by crediting each local with the number of votes as determined on the Convention basis of representation. Any local in good standing not informing the Trustees by registered mail within fifty (50) days after the Convention of its action on the amendments shall be counted as voting in the affirmative. Amendments receiving approval by a majority of the votes tabulated shall be declared adopted, and shall be effective as of December 1.

Section Q was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXI, SECTION R

Section R. APPEALS TO THE CONVENTION.

Any member, local, or district council may appeal to the Convention against any decision of the Executive Board.

Section R was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: We now have the sentence that the Constitution Committee thought should be somewhere within the proceedings of the organization. Since the discussion I met with the Committee and the question has arisen whether it be in the constitution or the rules, but the intent of the Constitution Committee is as follows:

That the Committee report shall be prepared in sufficient quantities for all the delegates present.

The Committee would like to make that as a recommendation, whether it be in the constitution as such or in the rules of the Convention.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXII

Referendum

Section A. Each local in good standing affiliated with the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) shall have the right to propose amendments at any time three (3) months after date of the previous Convention but not later than ten (10) weeks before the week set for the next Convention (postmark of registered letter containing amendment to be determining date). The local initiating the amendment must first secure endorsement of not less than ten (10) locals, in three (3) different districts, comprising twenty-five percent (25%) of the total membership (as per paid per capita average of the previous three (3) months) to the date of notice of amendment to the Executive Board.

Section A was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXII, SECTION B

Section B. Within a week of receipt of proposed amendment and reasons therefore, the President shall forward copies of same to each member of the Executive Board for its approval by a straight aye or nay vote. Copy of the proposed amendment, and the result of the vote of the Executive Board shall be sent to each local for its approval or otherwise. The question to the local will read for or against the decision of the Executive Board, for its approval by a straight aye or nay vote. The majority of those present and voting shall determine the action of the local.

Section B was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXII, SECTION C

Section C. The Trustees shall tabulate the vote of the locals, by crediting each local with the number of votes (as per paid per capita) figured on the average of the three (3) previous months. Any local in good standing not informing the Trustees of its action on proposed amendment or amendments within the specified time shall be counted as voting in the affirmative. Amendments receiving approval by a majority of the votes totalled shall be declared adopted, and shall become effective as of the first day of the following month.

Section C was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXII, SECTION D

Section D. The columns of the Union official news organ shall be open for discussion for or against proposed amendments.

Section D was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXIII

Duties and Privileges of Membership

Section A. Each member at initiation shall pledge himself to support the Constitution of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) and obey all lawful orders of the Executive Board, in addition to the obligation required by the local union of which he becomes a member.

Section A was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXIII, SECTION B

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: There is an amendment to this section by the Committee, different from that which appears in the mimeographed draft, and the section as recommended by the Committee will read as follows:

Section B. If a member of this Union commits an offense against the Constitution and By-Laws or the general good and welfare of his local union, or of the Union, he shall be given an impartial trial by his local union as provided in the by-laws of said local union. The offense for which he is charged is to be presented in writing to his local union by the member making the charges, who at the time, must be a member in good standing of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO). A copy of said charges is to be given to the member under charges by the local recording secretary. If found guilty the defendant shall have the right

to appeal to the District Council (not subdistrict), which District Council shall have the power to select from its body a committee to investigate the facts and hold hearings as deemed necessary. Further appeals may be taken to the Executive Board and from there to the Convention. If a local does not finally act on charges within sixty (60) days after the charges have been filed with the local, the plaintiff shall have the right to appeal to the District Council. A decision of the local shall be final unless and until reversed by a higher body. Only the defendant shall have the right of appeal after a trial is held.

The Committee recommends adoption of this section.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

DELEGATE WEIHRAUCH: A point of personal privilege and for the benefit of the Daily Worker, I am speaking as a representative of the International Staff. I would like to bring to the attention of the delegates a case that we have in the house referring to a business agent of the Amalgamated Local 437, also a former International organizer for the UE. I only hope that Al Bardick brings back the facts of the members he represents as a business agent, so that there cannot be any camouflage and so that the principles laid down here, the democratic principles, are brought back to the members in the Amalgamated shops of Local 437.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair recognizes the Committee.

Committee Chairman Block continued the report of the Committee, as follows:

ARTICLE XXIII, SECTION C

Section C. A delegate or representative of a local union at a meeting or convention of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) must be a member in good standing of the Union, and must be either an officer of the local union, or is or was a working member in a shop under the jurisdiction of the local union he represents as a delegate.

No representative or employee of the IUE-CIO can serve who is a member of the Communist Party or who consistently pursues policies or activities directed toward the achievement of the program or purposes of the Communist Party, or any other totalitarian or Fascist organization.

The Committee recommends adoption of Section C.

The recommendation of the Committee was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXIV

Installation of Officers and Obligation of Members

Section A. INSTALLATION OF OFFICERS.

Installation of officers shall be conducted by any member designated as an officer by the Constitution of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), as follows:

Installing Officer: "Brother _____, do you accept the office to which you have been declared elected?"

Officer Elected: "I do."

Installing Officer: "Raise your right hand and repeat after me. I do solemnly swear (or affirm) in the presence of the assembled members and delegates that I will faithfully execute the office to which I have been elected; and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Work-

ers (CIO). I further swear (or affirm) that I will protect and conserve the property of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO); and that I will make an accounting for, and turn over all such property to my successor in office. I further swear (or affirm) that I will adhere to and support all trade union policies determined upon or subscribed to by the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO)."

Section A was unanimously adopted.

ARTICLE XXIV, SECTION B

Section B. OBLIGATION OF MEMBERS.

The obligation of a new member shall be conducted by any member of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), as follows:

Member: "I solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will abide by the Constitution of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), and the rules and constitution of Local No., IUERMW-CIO, to the full extent of my ability. I hereby reaffirm the terms of my application for membership in this International Union. I further swear (or affirm) that I will bear faithful allegiance to the Local and International Union, in their sound trade union policies, and to my fellow members and the officers whom they elect."

Section B was unanimously adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: There were certain matters referred to the Committee from the Convention. They are not categorized as to Article and Section. The Committee is asking, if they are adopted, that the Administrative Committee set them in their proper places in the Constitution.

"No representative or employee of the IUE can serve who is a member of the Communist party or who consistently pursues policies and activities directed toward the achievement of the program or the purposes of the Communist party, or of any other totalitarian or Fascist organization."

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends adoption.

... The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: This was referred as a matter of initiation fee for veterans:

"A Local Union may in its Local constitution waive the initiation fee for veterans."

The Committee recommends adoption of that section.

... The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

TRANSFERS

"Transfers between Local Unions in the CIO may be recognized. Where this condition exists the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), shall be notified."

The Committee recommends adoption.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: This question was brought up on the matter of secession. The Committee has authorized me to make the following statement: There is no Local Union constitution that I know of

that provides for the withdrawal from the Local Union by a member. That action is taken by the member. Therefore, in keeping with the same line of thought, the Constitution could naturally not provide the machinery for disaffiliation and secession. It must be pointed out to the delegates that in the constitution adopted so far there is no action stated in there that could be taken against a Local that disaffiliates or secedes.

The Committee has authorized me to make that statement.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The Chair recognizes the Chairman of the Committee on Constitution.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: Per capita tax. In the proposed constitution before you under REVENUE the per capita tax is set up in such a manner that the share going to the National Organization of 50 cents out of the proposed 60 as its own distribution, regardless of the amount voted, if it is not less than 50 to the International Union.

The Committee has recommended the following:

"Section A. The revenue of the IUE-CIO shall be derived by the payment of monthly per capita of fifty cents for each full month's dues collected.

"District Councils shall have the power to set District per capita. Such per capita shall not be more than ten cents per member per month."

The Committee recommends the adoption of the section just read.

The recommendation of the Committee was adopted.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Chairman of the Committee would ask for a motion to approve the other sections of the constitution that provide the 50 cents in the various classifications. Section B, on page 14, at the top of the page; Section C, dealing with Transfer of Funds; Section D, one dollar of the initiation fee collected to be sent to the Secretary-Treasurer, all are still in line with the motion just passed on the per capita to the International Union.

The Committee recommends the adoption of those three sections.

The recommendation of the Committee was carried unanimously.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: There are two remaining items in the constitution that have not been acted upon, one, the salary of officers, and secondly, convention date, Constitutional Convention, and election of officers.

If the proposed resolution now introduced is carried by the Convention, the Committee recommends that the question of salaries be referred to the next Convention. I will now read the resolution. There are copies available.

A DELEGATE, Local 441: Mr. Chairman, a point of special privilege. While the ushers are handing out the recommendations of the Constitution Committee, I would like to remind the delegates of the action taken here yesterday on the question of the appeal of Local 445. To my personal knowledge I know Local 445 always has helped any other Local on strike, not only with funds but also by sending manpower to the picket lines. That happened in our Union, the Phelps-Dodge. One of the members was killed on our picket line, and I think we should have one minute of silence in respect to that Brother.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: The first order of business after the Constitution Committee's report will be the appeal of Local 445. We will proceed with the matter now before the house so that complete attention can be given to the aid for strikers and action taken to encourage them in their efforts.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK. The Committee Chairman would

like to preface the resolution with a few remarks. Your Constitution Committee spent hours—and I mean hours—in considering the subject matter contained in this resolution. The hours were not spent consecutively; we would discuss it at one session take up other matters and recess, and take it up at the next session on the following day.

The Committee had a lot of information both from the members of the Administrative Committee and from the feelings of the delegates on the floor, whom they contacted during the meetings of the Constitution Committee.

The Committee considered very seriously all the issues raised, the statements made both by members of the Administrative Committee and by members of the Constitution Committee that had fixed ideas. They placed one cardinal point in their minds when they voted on the subject and that was what would be in the best interests of this organization.

The past record of the organization shows that within forty-eight hours after the adoption by the CIO Convention in Cleveland of the resolution granting a charter to the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), that the Administrative Committee had calls sent out for this Organizational Convention. The Committee believes, as will be shown in the resolution, that the Administrative Committee has as its first interest the well-being of this organization and the growth of this organization in mind, and to give all possible protection to the individual members, to the individual contract, so that the organization as a whole can grow to where it is possible for it to grow within a short period of time.

The resolution reads as follows:

RESOLUTION

WHEREAS the Administrative Committee has successfully performed the gigantic task of launching the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), which almost from the moment of its birth was one of the largest affiliates of CIO; and

WHEREAS, the members of the Administrative Committee have demonstrated great skill and ability in measuring up to their responsibilities; and

WHEREAS, the organizational problems now confronting the IUE-CIO are of such a pressing, emergency nature that speedy action is imperative; and

WHEREAS, the election of officers, the establishment of a Board, and the execution of the mass of details incident thereto may impede the achievement of the immediate objectives of the IUE-CIO,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

1. That the present officers and members of the Administrative Committee and an additional member from districts now not represented, shall conduct the affairs of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO); and

2. That the Administrative Committee is authorized to call the First Constitutional Convention of IUE-CIO as soon as it deems it necessary to do so for the best interests of the members of IUE-CIO, and prior to the time provided by the Constitution, September 1950.

3. That the election of officers of the IUE-CIO and the establishment of the Executive Board shall be postponed until the First Constitutional Convention; and

4. That the Administrative Committee shall prepare for consideration by the First Constitutional Convention recommendations on the procedures for the election of International officers and trustees by popular vote.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: The Committee recommends the adoption of the resolution.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: You have heard the recommendation of the Committee. The motion is to adopt.

DELEGATE WISE, Local 768: A point of information, Brother Chairman. How are these new additional members going to be put on this Administrative Committee?

CHAIRMAN CAREY: If the will of the Convention is determined by the adoption of this resolution we would then have this Convention give consideration to nominations coming from the representatives of the Districts now not represented on the Administrative Committee. They will not be selected by the Administrative Committee; they will be selected with due deference to the wishes of the members of the Districts, and the authority, upon the adoption of this resolution, to provide membership on the Administrative Committee for those selected by the Districts not now represented, will be carried out.

You have heard the recommendation of the Committee. The motion is to adopt. All those in favor of the Committee's recommendation will please rise to your feet; those opposed to the Committee's recommendation will please rise.

The recommendation of the Committee has been adopted by the unanimous standing vote of this Convention.

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN BLOCK: Mr. Chairman, that completes the report of the Constitution Committee. As Chairman of the Committee I want to thank the members of the Committee. They all attended the long and weary sessions and they all worked hard in spite of the arguments we had among ourselves. Knowing the handicap we were laboring under—and that was the old constitution that we knew—I think they did a remarkable job; and I want to thank them here publicly as a member of the Administrative Committee and as their Chairman. (Applause).

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I want to say a word of appreciation to the members of this Committee, to its Chairman, and to the members of the other Committees who have so ably served in behalf of this Convention. I believe that this Committee and the other Committees as well deserve a rising vote of appreciation for the services they rendered in such an able manner. I therefore suggest that those who agree that this and the other Committees did an excellent job in expediting the work of this Convention will please rise to your feet.

A rising vote of appreciation was given all of the Committees.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: All Committees have made their reports. All Committees are dismissed with the thanks of the Convention with, of course, the exception of the Administrative Committee.

We hope to have some conference meetings of radio and radio accessory workers under the chairmanship of Harry Block.

I would like a word with you with regard to this appeal in behalf of the officers and members of Local 445 for your contribution here and now for their efforts directed against the unjust practices of the National Union Radio Corporation that required these workers to engage in an 8-weeks

strike. The ushers will please pass through the Convention and secure the contributions from the delegates to assist the 750 people who have been out on strike for eight weeks.

While that is going on I would like you to read the notification providing an opportunity for you in behalf of your Local to make pledges for this Local Union. That appeal reads:

**LET'S SHOW OUR REAL TRADE UNIONISM
BY HELPING OUR FIRST LOCAL IN NEED**

Many of our delegates have asked for further details concerning the plea for aid by Brother Jim Callaghan of Local 445, IUE-CIO. The address of the local is 68 Orange Street, Newark, New Jersey. The members have been out on the picket line since September 30th. To protect any donations we ask that all checks be made payable to, "The New Jersey State CIO Strike Fund," and earmark the donation for Local 445, IUE-CIO.

Please fill in the questionnaire below to assist us in our efforts to obtain help and to further assist us in a follow-up of the pledges made by delegates here today.

NAME LOCAL NO.....

ADDRESS

PLEDGE \$.....

Please turn in this information to the committee in the rear of the Convention Hall. Thank you.

DISTRICT DIRECTORS

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I would like at this time to read off the District Directors. I present to the Convention the District Directors that are available to you for any service that you require within the limits of the ability of a human being to function and the resources they have at their disposal.

- District No. 1—Harry Block
- District No. 2—Anthony Cimino
- District No. 3—Frank Fiorello
- District No. 4—Milton Weihrauch
- District No. 5—John Martin
- District No. 6—Michael Fitzpatrick
- District No. 7—Joseph Hawkins
- District No. 8—James Click
- District No. 9—James Pascoe
- District No. 11—Al Fineman

The Committee on Constitution although it is dismissed, is asked to appear on the platform in order to have a picture of that Committee taken.

At this time I find that the work of this Organizational Convention is coming to a close. I want to indicate my appreciation of the work done by the people who rendered the service that made this Convention and its work possible but who have not appeared on the scene. For instance, Herb Bernstein, driving a car to make sure our Convention guests arrived promptly. We have a great number of other people, old-timers in this movement, who have received the recognition of their Local Unions only insofar as they were sent as delegates to this Convention, people that served on the UE Members for Democratic Action, people that are not here present today,

those people who were in the fight, in the vanguard of a pretty tough battle covering a long period of years. I know they have the satisfaction of knowing their efforts were not in vain. And I dedicate to those warriors a message as an appeal, as an invitation to UE members now not present at this Convention or in our organization.

I presume this invitation, through the medium of the press, as well as by word of mouth of those delegates assembled here, and through the energetic efforts of our Administrative Committee, our Directors, our Field Representatives, our Local officers, and those great volunteers that are serving to build this organization, will be given wide publicity. We will also arrange, perhaps, that these views be expressed in pamphlet form and widely disseminated among those remnants of that defunct UE.

This Union, the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), was chartered by the Congress of Industrial Organizations to afford within the CIO, collective bargaining representation for workers in the electrical, radio and machine industries, through a union whose loyalties run to our country and our members.

This union came into being because of the exploitation of honest and patriotic American workers by treasonable politicians who made the interests of American workers secondary to the welfare of the Soviet government.

Establishment of decent collective bargaining agencies in every field of human endeavor is a basic function of the National Congress of Industrial Organizations. Its record as an American institution, loyal to American principles and militant in the defense of the rights of the people, cannot be challenged.

This Convention, therefore, is proclaiming to all workers in the electrical, radio and machine manufacture industry its complete willingness and eagerness to receive into full affiliation with this democratic union any and all such workers who believe in the American way of life and the established democratic procedures of CIO.

We have rejected completely and totally the concept of political company unionism, which is typical of the Soviet system, and which was intended by the leaders of the defunct UE for imposition on all the members of that publicly degraded former union.

The only requests we make of those eligible to membership in our union is that they subscribe and conform to principles of sound trade unionism, administered in democratic fashion and further that they join with us in repudiating political adventurers within our ranks.

There is no room in the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), for any group that seeks to impose its narrow, sectarian political views upon the membership. Members of unions should not have their time wasted resisting and repelling such attacks. A union is an economic organization established to obtain for its members, and for all other workers where possible, their full share in the benefits that accrue from operation of the national economy.

We reject the concept that political progress can be made in this country through prostitution of the trade union movement to political ends. Unlike Soviet Russia and her slave satellite nations we have in this country a direct method of dealing with political problems through free access to the ballot box and the secret ballot.

It is the opportunity to participate in the mission of this International Union that we now extend to all former locals and former members of the repudiated and defunct UE. The delegates attending this Convention need no longer apologize for their International Union. Backed by the National Congress of Industrial Organizations and by millions of its loyal affiliated members throughout this country we have cast off the disrepute into which we had fallen in the eyes of decent American workers from coast to coast.

We urge all present victims of the Moscow conspirators who still hold forth under the label of the defunct UE, to cast off the shackles which bind them and join with us in helping this International Union win continuing and increasing security for the several million men, women and children who are dependent for a livelihood upon the electrical, radio and machine manufacturing industry.

The crazy Moscow adventurers cannot win, regardless of the support being given them by a few short sighted employers. The wisdom of American democracy stands back of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO).

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I move the adoption of the statement by the rising vote of the delegates to this Convention.

The entire delegation rose to its feet.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: Are there any voices in opposition?

Hearing none, your Chairman thanks you again and wishes to announce that several hundred dollars were received in the collection in behalf of Local 445 and we recognize that this is merely a beginning of the contributions that will flow in to meet the needs of those 750 people.

Your Convention is adjourned, subject to the call of the Administrative Committee.

A DELEGATE, Local 441: Mr. Chairman, I again repeat the request I made that we have one moment of silence in respect to the memory of Mario Russo, who was killed on the picket line.

CHAIRMAN CAREY: There was a member of this Union who was killed on the picket line while giving his aid and efforts to other workers. His name was Mario Russo. Will the delegates please rise.

The delegates to the Convention rose and stood in silence for one minute.

CLOSING REMARKS OF CHAIRMAN CAREY

CHAIRMAN CAREY: I bid you good-bye, with thanks, and remember that we will measure the worth of a labor leader in these few short weeks to come perhaps months, on how fast they can get representation cards signed, how rapidly they can get check-off cards signed, with what amazing rapidity they can break up some of these court injunctions that prevent members from functioning as trade union members, and how fast they can get their Locals qualified with the Regional Office of the National Labor Relations Board, and how rapidly they can get contracts negotiated with employers.

Those tests and that method of measurement I think should unite all of us in the days to come.

Thank you very much, from the bottom of my heart.

(At 12:45 o'clock p.m., Thursday, December 1, 1949, the Organizational Convention of the International Union, Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO), stood adjourned.)

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